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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

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INCLUDING THE COMPLETE GALLERY OF THE PORTRAITS OF THE PONTIFFS

REPRODUCED FROM
"EFFIGIES PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM
DOMINICI BASAE"

BEING A SERIES OF VOLUMES GIVING THE HISTORY
OF THE WORLD DURING THE CHRISTIAN ERA

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BY

THE CHEVALIER ARTAUD DE MONTOR

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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

PIUS VII.

THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

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PIUS VII—A.D. 1800

IF nature gave to Gregorio Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti a mild and sweet disposition, a higher influence bestowed upon him a better gift. Religion invested him with the beauty of an unsullied life, with a character of irreproachable virtue throughout his length of days. While from his father, Count Scipio Chiaramonti, he derived high nobility, from his mother, daughter of Marchese Jane Ghini, he received a more valuable portion, that of a rare piety and virtue. His mother was, indeed, a lady of singular excellence, renowned in the world for every religious quality. After having completed the education of her children, when the future pontiff had reached the age of twenty-one, in 1763, she entered a convent of Carmelites at Fano, where her memory is still cherished, and where she died in 1771, at the age of sixty. It was in this retreat that, as Pius himself used to relate, she distinctly foretold him his elevation one day to the papacy, and the protracted course of suffering which it would entail.

"These earliest impressions of domestic examples and maternal teaching formed," says Cardinal Wiseman, "the very groundwork of Pius's character. Born at Cesena, in the legation of Forli, August 14, 1742, Gregorio Chiaramonti, at the age of sixteen, after a preliminary education in the college for nobles at Ravenna, retired, upon mature deliberation, to the Benedictine abbey of Santa Maria del Monte, near Cesena, his native city, on the 20th August, 1758. There could be no worldly motive for this step. He had nothing to fly from in his home. His birth and patrimony secured him earthly comfort. If he inclined merely to the ecclesiastical life, all its advantages were open to him as a secular priest, without separation from his family, in which he was well beloved. And certainly, if honorable promotion had been, even slightly, an object of his ambition, he was cutting off every chance which his connections, or his efforts, might have secured him in the secular state.

"A twofold discipline, preparatory to his future life, such as Providence had designed it, awaited him in the cloister.

"The first was the discipline of the monastic novitiate, the sinking of all rank and title; the renouncing of all fortune, luxury, money; the voluntary descent to a level of rude equality with the peasant's or artisan's son; the surrender of comforts in every change—passing from the paintings and tapestries of the ancestral palace to the bare corridors of the monastery; from the chatty society of the table to the silent feeding of the body in the refectory; from the neat chamber, with its elastic bed and damask curtains, to the whitewashed cell, with its straw pallet and plank shutters; the menial occupations of a household, being one's own servant, and doing everything for one's self; and, finally, the utter subjection of time, actions, will, to the guidance of rule and of obedience with ready cheerfulness. For if one sees the youthful as-

pirants to the religious institutes, here or abroad, in recreation or at study, he may easily decide who will persevere, by a very simple rule. The joyous faces and the sparkling eyes denote the future monks far more surely than the demure looks and stolen glances.

"In the days of Pius's distress, all his previous discipline came admirably to his aid. He had commenced it at sixteen; had dropped his high-sounding names of Barnaba Chiaramonti for simple Dom Gregorio (first, indeed, only Brother); made but one of a party, clothed alike, and without distinction, beyond that of the assumed monastic name. He walked the streets, and was jostled in crowds, and probably could not have paid for a cool refreshment. It was in this way that he hastened to the square of Saint Peter's to witness the coronation of Clement XIV. This imposing ceremony is performed in the loggia, whence the pope gives his benediction, looking into the superb esplanade densely thronged. Eager to get a look at the spectacle, and clear himself of the throng that elbowed him, he leaped up behind an empty carriage. The coachman turned round, but instead of resenting this intrusion on his dominions, said good-naturedly to him: 'My dear little monk, why are you so anxious to see a function which one day will fall to your lot?'

"Dom Gregorio Chiaramonti began young, and therefore was able to pass with deliberate leisure through the long and full monastic course of philosophical and theological studies. That he did this with at least fair success, is evident from the fact of his having publicly sustained a thesis in theology—an experiment not usually accorded to persons of inferior skill. The proposition or programme of his public contest was engraved, as the custom used to be, at the foot of a large allegorical print; and the thesis was dedicated to Cardinal Ganganelli. Thus two future popes met together, the one as

patron and the other as client, on the noble field of science. A copy of this challenge was in the English College library; it was curious, and made itself remembered by the circumstance that one of the subjects proposed in it was the confutation of an absurd fanatic who had maintained that no place is found in heaven for the daughters of Eve. And this was only one of many occasions in which he made public display of his learning and ready prowess.

"After this he was public professor in the colleges of his order, first at Parma, then at Rome. At the age of thirty he was promoted, in general chapter, lector or doctor of theology; and for six years more held the chair of canon law.

"When Pius VI ascended the throne in 1775, Dom Gregorio Chiaramonti, who was connected with him by ties of blood, was lector or professor of theology in the monastery of Saint Calixtus, at Rome. The pope having evinced a desire to protect the academy of noble ecclesiastics founded near the Church of the Minerva, Father Chiaramonti placed in that academy his brother, Count Gregorio, who afterwards long resided at Bologna; but ere long he declared that he felt no vocation for the prelature, and left Rome. This, probably, opened to Dom Chiaramonti the way to honors in the Church, which Pius VI would have more freely accorded to Count Gregorio, as he was averse to the elevation of religious."

In consequence of some ill treatment which Dom Chiaramonti received in his monastery, the pope, by brief, conferred on him the title of abbot. This did not give him the government of an abbey, such as abbots enjoy when elected by the monks; it merely confers a distinction, some advantages and privileges; he wears the ring and mitre, has an honorable place in the choir, but is subject to the titular abbot. This honor only embittered his enemies the more. On his return

from Vienna, Pius VI sent for him to hear his statement in regard to charges brought against him. He was accused of speaking freely against the punishments inflicted by the abbots on the professed. He replied that it was wrong to subject them to a system of unusual demands; he asked a modification of this severity. He then represented that they sought to poison good intentions by accusations absolutely calumnious, ascribing to him a dominating spirit.

The accused son of Saint Benedict won Pius VI by the frankness and simplicity of his replies, by his charitable statement of his course, and especially by his reserve and gentleness in meeting his opponent. Pius saw in him a profound man of letters, an exact scholar, a learned and reasonable canonist, a studious monk devoted to his duties.

Some months after, the same antagonists, and especially a Spaniard, who swore never to give him any rest, renewed their endeavors to have him banished from Rome. These last attempts wounded the pontifical government. The persecuted monk lived quietly at Rome, remaining almost constantly, even during the unhealthy season, at Saint Paul extra muros, where he was voluntary librarian.

As in the case of Nicholas Breakspear, a monk of the same order, his enemies aided him to rise. Like Eugene III, Pius VI replied that the monk should indeed leave Rome, but it would be for a destination that the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars would soon know.

In fact, Dom Chiaramonti was nominated Bishop of Tivoli. This favor, presaging an elevation to the purple, silenced his detractors, the most bitter of whom had already confessed their error. Their accusations, they now saw, arose from misunderstanding. Calumnies were recalled. None could explain their blindness. The new bishop had employed only words of peace, concord, and charity. The professed pro-

posed to address him, but he would not permit it, and the trouble in the learned and laborious order ceased.

Meanwhile the bishop organized his diocese with rare ability, giving particular attention to the diffusion of good books, aiding from his resources and promoting to distinguished posts learned men versed in the most difficult branches of the education of the young. Accordingly, on the death of Cardinal Bandi, Bishop of Imola, and uncle of Pius VI, that pope resolved to create Chiaramonti Bishop of Imola, and then raise him to the cardinalate, February 14, 1785.

This choice was not considered an act of nepotism, but a well-deserved tribute to an unambitious and universally esteemed prelate. Mild as he was, he knew and maintained his rights. When the vicar of the Holy Office at Tivoli, without the bishop's permission, authorized the sale of certain books of devotion, the bishop threatened him with an interdict if he did not recognize the episcopal authority. The Dominicans at Rome resisted. Chiaramonti appealed to the pope, declaring that he would resign if justice was not done. Pius VI ordered the rights of the bishop to be respected. Cardinal Chiaramonti proceeded to his new residence, and for more than ten years elicited universally honor and respect. He was regarded as a moderate, charitable, humble, thoughtful, and at the same time courageous bishop, wherever the prerogatives of his Church were concerned. Thus when Cardinal Spinelli, legate of Ferrara, unjustly attempted to exercise jurisdiction over lands evidently belonging to the Church of Imola, Cardinal Chiaramonti declared that he no longer lived in communion with Cardinal Spinelli. Other members of the Sacred College had to intervene, and induce Cardinal Spinelli to make suitable apologies.

Meanwhile the French Revolution burst out, and Napo-

leon poured like a torrent upon Italy. The States of the Church were soon invaded. On the 3d of February, 1797, he occupied Faenza, Imola, and Forli. On the 9th he was master of Ancona. The next day he entered that city and summoned before him the vicar-general, parish priests, superiors of religious communities, and the vicar of the Inquisition. He received them with gravity, advised them to preach the Gospel and leave political questions alone, declaring that religion should be respected and protected. He reproached the vicar-general for the flight of Cardinal Ranuzzi, Bishop of Ancona. "The Bishop of Imola, equally a cardinal, did not take flight. I did not see him on my passage through, but he was at his post."

When Pius VI was torn from his capital and carried off a prisoner, after the course of duplicity exercised by the agents of the Directory, terror seized the States of the Church. No one felt the unhappy condition of temporal and ecclesiastical affairs more keenly than Cardinal Chiaramonti. He beheld one system of spoliation organized after another. The objects left at Loretto by Colli were seized. The cardinal knew how contemptuously they then spoke of "the wooden statue, three saucers of pottery, and piece of red stuff," which, according to Villetard, constituted the chief wealth of the Santa Casa.

The whole city of Imola, in confusion, asked the cardinal for a rule of conduct, and he published a homily, dated on Christmas day, being antedated some ten days.

If many peaceful inhabitants experienced unmeasured alarm, the faithful people of the diocese of Imola wished to renew the scenes of Lugo. The ecclesiastical authorities thought it a duty to prevent an outbreak, which, without relieving Pius VI, would only draw down in a more aggravated form the horrors of war on the States of the Church. The

homily was dictated at Imola, by the fears of some to control the courage of others. The position was a difficult one. The Cisalpine Republic had been recognized by the treaty of Campo Formio, and it was impossible to avoid considering what duties religion prescribed in the actual political position of affairs. But the treatment of the delicate question by Cardinal Chiaramonti was severely criticised, especially at the next conclave in 1800.

The following passage was severely censured by those whose ideas were unwaveringly monarchical, but will not seem strange to citizens of a republic: "The democratic form of government adopted among you is not in opposition to the maxims already set forth, nor repugnant to the Gospel. On the contrary, it exacts all the sublime virtues which are learned only in the school of Jesus Christ, and which, when religiously practised by you, will constitute your felicity, the glory and spirit of your republic. Let virtue alone, which perfects man and directs him towards his supreme end, the highest and best of all, let this virtue alone, quickened by the natural lights and strengthened by the teachings of the Gospel, be the solid foundation of our democracy."

Cardinal Wiseman says of this period of his life:

"During the invasion of northern Italy by the French in 1797, the cardinal-bishop of Imola had been placed in a situation of great difficulty, which required both tact and courage; and he had displayed both. While he retained the firmest fidelity to his sovereign, he exhorted his people to submit to the overwhelming power of the enemy, and not tempt them, by an irritating and useless resistance, to put in execution their barbarous threats of universal massacre, and destruction by fire of cities and villages. A fierce and disorderly insurrection at Lugo proved how real and earnest was the menace. General Augereau, on the 8th of July, com-

pletely defeated the foolish patriots, and delivered their city to a sack, which in three hours stripped it of an incredible amount of plunder. It lasted no longer, because Chiaramonti, who had in vain addressed the inhabitants, humbled himself so far as to cast himself on his knees before the French general, and refused to rise till the boon of mercy which he craved was granted.

"His position, however, was too embarrassing; and his friend Pope Pius VI called him to Rome. He entreated to be allowed to return to his people, to shield them from danger, when a new peril surprised him. The Austrians, subsidized by England, were for a short time masters of the province of Emilia, and were approaching Imola, when the bishop considered it his duty to exhort his people to submit to them, as their liberators from the yoke imposed upon them. No sooner had the Austrians retired than he was accused of sedition. Instead of flying from the danger, he proceeded at once to the French headquarters at Lugo, and there pleaded his own cause before the general, whom he knew to be most hostile to him, with such gentleness and firmness as won from that soldier expressions of esteem and marks of honor.

"His enemies, however, were not so satisfied; and the republican magistrates of Imola denounced him to the supreme authorities of Bologna, as having favored the Austrians. Letters to him, from Cardinals Giovannetti and Mattei, containing circulars addressed by them to their flocks in favor of Austria, were intercepted, and formed the groundwork of the charge; fabrications and exaggerations composed its superstructure. The French general, incensed, started at once with a large detachment of troops, proclaiming that the cardinal should be severely punished and his see rifled. The bishop left his city by night, not to flee, but to face the dan-

ger. He was too good a shepherd to leave his sheep to the wolf and escape at their sacrifice. Boldly he directed his steps towards the approaching spoilers. The general was Macdonald. Chiaramonti met him face to face; with apostolic liberty, he reproved him strongly for his intended barbarity, and vindicated frankly his own conduct. He prevailed, and saved the city from destruction or devastation. It is not wonderful that his biographers should have compared this intrepid and generous conduct to that of Saint Leo the Great meeting Attila."

When Pius VI expired at Valence, affairs had changed in Italy. Bonaparte was in Egypt, and the armies of the Directory under Scherer had experienced reverses in Italy. The cardinals then thought of assembling to choose a successor to Pius VI.

The Emperor Francis II, through his minister, offered to receive them at Venice, and there, on the 1st of December, 1799, they assembled, to the number of thirty-seven. These were Cardinals Albani, York, Antonelli, Valenti, Gonzaga, Caraffa, Trajetto, Zelada, Calcagnini, Mattei, Archetti, Joseph Doria, Livizzani, Borgia, Caprara, Vincenti, Maury, Pignatelli, Roverella, La Somaglia, Anthony Doria, Braschi, Carandini, Flangini, Rinuccini, Honorati, Giovannetti, Gerdil, Martiniana, Herzan de Harras, Bellisomi, Chiaramonti, Lorenzana, Busca, Dugnani, de Pretis, and Fabricius Ruffo. Besides these, there were in other parts of Europe eleven cardinals who were unable to attend.

When there is in the conclave a nephew of the last pope, he exercises great influence as to the choice of a successor. Cardinals appointed by the last pope, or merely favored by him, out of gratitude consult his nephew's intentions. Pius VI, during his long reign, had almost renewed the Sacred College. Among the elder cardinals there were several who

were indebted to him for immense favors. Cardinal Braschi had not the ability to be a skilful party leader; yet a great many cardinals followed his impulse. He had the happiness of seeing among them the only surviving cardinals of the reign of Benedict XIV, Cardinal John Francis Albani (created 16th April, 1747) and Cardinal York (created July, 1747), the latter of whom, as the last of the Stuarts, assumed on medals the title of Henry IX, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

On the other hand, Cardinal Antonelli, although the first creation of Pius VI, and raised to the purple April 14, 1775, a man distinguished for intelligence and moderation as prefect of the Propaganda, could not resist the desire of forming an adverse party. The Braschi party embraced twenty-two votes, two less than were required for a choice. Antonelli numbered only fifteen, and therefore formed what is called an exclusive, a party able only to prevent an election. Cardinal Chiaramonti voted with Braschi.

For nearly two months Cardinal Bellisomi, a native of Pavia, created February 14, 1785, and Bishop of Cesena, had the twenty-two votes of the Braschi, and Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, the fifteen of the Antonelli party. The election of the latter was, however, deemed impossible. As Bellisomi could not gain the two votes necessary for his election, others were proposed. Valenti, created April 15, 1776, was thought of, but in vain. Some votes were given to Cardinal Gerdil. Antonelli was proposed, and Albani. The latter was rejected as being connected by blood with the house of Austria. Cardinal Gerdil was again spoken of. His great talents, advanced age, his important writings, seemed to justify the hope of raising him to the throne. The fact of his being a native of Savoy, which had become a part of France, militated against him, and, amid a scrutiny,

when they were about to proceed to a vote, Cardinal Herzan, minister of the emperor, gave a formal exclusion to Cardinal Gerdil, declaring that Francis would not accept a subject of the King of Sardinia. The long delay in effecting a choice began to lead to murmurs. Suddenly two cardinals left the Antonelli party, and gave their votes to Bellisomi, on whom all the Braschi cardinals, whose votes had been scattered, united. Herzan, who belonged to the Antonelli party, having imprudently exercised his right of exclusion, and no other power attempting to exercise the claim, now urged the conclave to notify the cabinet at Vienna before actually proceeding to a choice—Cardinal Bellisomi, born at Pavia, in the duchy of Milan, being a subject of the emperor. A courier was sent, but a delay of a month followed, and those who had been ready to vote for Bellisomi wavered, and a choice was as remote as ever.

At this juncture, Monsignor Consalvi, secretary of the conclave, canvassing the various members of the college, concluded that Cardinal Chiaramonti united in the highest degree the qualities necessary at the moment for the administration of the Church. He gradually induced nineteen cardinals to embrace this opinion, and when this party was joined by Cardinal Maury, who controlled five votes, the election became certain.

On the 14th of March, 1800, the cardinals proceeded to the usual voting, which takes place twice a day. The name of the new candidate was venerated. The amiable, affectionate cardinal stood there before his colleagues, embarrassed with the glory, alarmed at the honor, trembling more than one who fears to lose the fruit of his wiles, ready to smile on any one who would announce that he was to be relieved from a sacrifice which he makes so reluctantly. The ballots, read amid the most impressive silence, are unanimous, with the

exception of one, that of the Benedictine cardinal. Chiaramonti is elected pope, after a conclave of one hundred and four days. He declared his intention of taking the name of Pius VII, in token of gratitude to his protector, Pius VI.

The court of Vienna, somewhat dissatisfied at the election of Chiaramonti, with whom it had not thought of making terms, refused to permit his coronation in the Church of Saint Mark. On the 21st of March Pius VII was crowned in Saint George's by Cardinal Anthony Doria, chief of the order of cardinal-deacons.

On the 15th of May the newly elected pontiff addressed an encyclical letter to the cardinals and all the bishops of Christendom. Of the affairs of France he said: "We experience profound sadness and lively grief on considering those of our children who inhabit France; could our death effect their salvation, we would sacrifice our life for them. One circumstance diminishes and alleviates the bitterness of our grief. This is the fortitude and constancy displayed by several among you, and which have been imitated by so many of every age, sex, and condition; their courage in not contaminating their souls by an unlawful and guilty oath, in order to adhere in obedience to the decrees and sentence of the Holy Apostolic See, will remain eternally engraved in our memory, as well as the renewed cruelty of ancient times, wherewith the enemies of the Church have pursued these faithful Christians."

The emperor, reconciled to the election of Pius VII, wished the pope to remain in his States, and even urged him to fix his residence at Vienna; but at last consented to his departure. Pius accordingly, on the 6th of June, four days after Bonaparte's entrance into Milan, embarked on an Austrian frigate, which landed him at Pesaro, whence he proceeded towards Rome.

On the 21st of June he entered Ancona amid the thunder of cannon. The Russian vessels lying in the harbor ordered the imperial salute, Paul I having expressly ordered the honors due the imperial person to be paid to the pope.

Six hundred of the inhabitants of Ancona, taking places in turn, removed the horses from his carriage, and, attaching ropes decked with colored ribbons, drew the pope to the palace of Cardinal Ranuzzi, who impatiently awaited his sovereign.

The next day the pope celebrated Mass at the altar of the Madonna at the Church of Saint Cyriacus, and then set out for Loretto. An Austrian commissary declared that, His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty having recovered the States of the Holy Father only to restore them, His Holiness should resume the enjoyment of the States. Still, Austrian troops continued to occupy the three legations. Without wasting time in negotiations, Pius continued his route to Rome.

That city had long ceased to be occupied by French troops, or partisans of the Roman republic. The latter, reduced to a handful of soldiers, had eight months previously surrendered the Castle of Sant' Angelo and the city, in virtue of a convention between the ambassador Bertolio and General Garnier on the one side, and on the other the lieutenants of Cardinal Fabricius Ruffo, to some Austrian squadrons and two hundred English infantry.

Bertolio, a native of Avignon, a former advocate of Paris, a man of conciliating disposition, had governed the country with integrity, till the declaration of a state of siege brought the usual evils in its train.

The Neapolitans claimed the glory of this conquest, and the English, commanded by Admiral Trowbridge, who had but few soldiers and could not leave his vessels, relinquished Rome and the Pontifical States to the guardianship of their

allies and a Russian corps recently drawn from Naples. The Neapolitan garrison at Rome looked upon the pope's arrival with displeasure—so hard is it to restore generously, even to friends, what has been recovered for them; but the army, composed chiefly of volunteers, had been called out for a war for religion. They had conquered with the cry: "Viva Maria!"

Pius VII entered Rome on the 3d of July, by conveyances easily prearranged. In the Piazza del Popolo, where a crown had been offered to Berthier, a magnificent triumphal arch had been erected, under which he passed on his way to the Corso.

The Neapolitans had been tyrants of the Romans, whom they subjected to a thousand vexations. The pope seemed to bring peace, and arrest the dissensions which had so long troubled Rome. Naples recalled her troops, but continued to occupy Benevento and Ponte Corvo.

"The first public acts of the new pontiff," it is stated in Cardinal Wiseman's Recollections, "showed that, nevertheless, he was above prejudices, and well understood sound principles of political economy. Besides excellent provisions for reforms in every department of public administration, in that of justice among others, two series of measures characterized the commencement of his reign. The first regarded free trade in provisions, and a considerable approach to it in other departments of commerce. There was a great and alarming scarcity of grain in central Italy the year of the pope's accession, 1800. There was literally a panic in the public mind in consequence; and the exportation of cereals from the States was forbidden. But, by a decree issued in September of that year, free trade in corn was permitted; and the corporation of bakers was abolished with its exclusive privileges, so as to make it free to all to bake and sell bread. All duty was also taken off oil, and its free importation was permitted.

"These new measures took the public by surprise; but they were soon much extended. For, early in the following year, all provisions were brought under the same regulations; and five more sources of revenue were thrown open to public competition. The edict on this subject, the result of a special commission, was long, and entitled 'Decree motu proprio on provisions and free trade,' and bears the date of March 11, 1801. The annual medal struck for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul that year bears the figure of Abundance, with a ship at her side, and the inscription: 'Commerciorvm. privilegia. abolita.'

"In the meantime the treasury was empty; the treaty of Tolentino had drained every available resource; even the four tiaras, of immense price and beautiful workmanship, had been stripped of their jewels to pay the ruinous contribution of six millions of dollars imposed in 1796. A new system of general taxation was necessary to supply the urgent and current wants of the government. This was published about the same period, prefaced by a candid but mournful acknowledgment of the exhausted condition of the public purse. The system involved a very complicated but most important operation, which was not fully carried out till 1803, that of embodying in the debts of the State those of provincial or at least municipal governments, the State at the same time undertaking the administration of their real property, as security to itself.

"As far as one can judge at this distance of time, it would appear that the internal policy, directed by Cardinal Consalvi from the very onset, was enlightened, perhaps, beyond that of many greater States. That policy is the one pursued by the present pontiff [Pius VII], who has been yearly reducing the duties and other pressures upon import commerce, and has been getting rid of monopolies, or rather the farm-

ing of internal resources, with the most gratifying success.

"Another evil of the past calamitous period had been the total depreciation of the coinage. A quantity of base metal, as well as a copper currency, had been put into circulation, with artificial values, after 1793; and the usual ill-judged attempts had been resorted to, of raising the value of this currency, when fallen in the market, by public authority. The last of these useless efforts, by the Commissioner Naselli, in 1800, before the pope's arrival, had only produced embarrassment and diminished commercial confidence. The pope, however, and his minister took a better view of this monetary difficulty. Several schemes were proposed, by which loss would have fallen heavily on the holders of the debased circulation, in clearing the country of it, and they were unhesitatingly rejected. Instead of this, a fair and current value was assigned to it, and it was received at that rate by all government offices and at the mint, and no more was reissued. This was in December, 1801, and January 13, 1802. In October the plan was completed. On the 5th of that month all the base coin was called in, and government bore the entire loss. A million and a half of dollars were paid out in silver all over the States, and not a coin of inferior metal left in circulation. And from that day, no country in Europe had a better or more abundant silver circulation than the Papal States."

The French were again in Italy. On the 14th of June, 1801, Marengo laid the peninsula almost completely at Bonaparte's feet. Five days after he told Cardinal Martiniana, Bishop of Vercelli, that it was his intention to live on good terms with the pope, and even to treat with him in regard to the restoration of religion in France. This declaration was so spontaneous, clear, and precise, amid the immense details

of his military administration, that the cardinal the same day wrote to the First Consul, to accept the commission of testifying to his intentions towards the Holy See. On the 26th of June the cardinal informed the pope, who, on the 10th of July, dating from Rome, replied that he could not receive more agreeable tidings than those contained in his letter of June 26. Consalvi induced Pius VII to terminate his letter thus:

"You may say to the First Consul that we will readily enter on a negotiation, the object of which is honorable, so suitable to our apostolic ministry, so conformable to the wishes of our heart.

"Given at Rome, the 10th of July, 1800, of our pontificate the first.

"Pius, PP. VII."

To conduct the negotiations through a capable member of the Sacred College, Pius created Consalvi a cardinal on the 10th of August.

Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, the companion of the captivity of Pius VI, was sent to Paris. On the 13th of September a brief announced to all the French bishops the hopes of the pope. A concordat was proposed, and in March, 1801, the First Consul sent to Rome, as minister plenipotentiary, though without credentials, Cacault, his colleague at Tolentino, who reached Rome on the 8th of April, and, after seeing Cardinal Consalvi, was presented to the pope the next day.

On taking leave of the First Consul, Cacault asked him how he was to treat the pope. "Treat him," replied the great warrior, "as though he had two hundred thousand men." We shall see how Cacault availed himself of this eminently characteristic remark of Bonaparte, who valued everything

in military coin, and rated the pope as he did Prussia. The First Consul added: "You know that in the month of October, 1796, I wrote you how I was ambitious to be rather the saviour than the destroyer of the Holy See, and that on that point your principles and mine agreed perfectly."

Negotiations went on at first briskly; but as the principal point was the religious affairs, Cacault saw with regret that they were hampered by some theological discussions by which foreign interests sought to embroil the two courts. Ghislieri, the Austrian minister, was ordered to fill the pope with distrust of France. The King of Naples, forced to withdraw his troops from Rome, was endeavoring to show that he had never intended to retain them there; but Acton, his envoy, secretly opposed all good understanding between France and Rome.

These enemies were about to triumph, and for a time the First Consul seemed by his hesitation to second their designs. At last the cabinet of Paris, more military than diplomatic, showed impatience, fearing to be drawn into a dispute as to dogmas. Bonaparte ordered Cacault in positive terms to leave Rome and retire to General Murat at Florence, if the concordat projected at Paris was not signed within three days, the articles having been already discussed in the two courts, according to conventions between Cacault and the Holy See.

Cacault, a man well disposed, was embarrassed. He went immediately to Cardinal Consalvi, read him the formidable despatch entire, without suppressing any harsh expressions, and he resumed: "There are misunderstandings. The First Consul does not know you; still less does he know your talents, your ability, your engagements, your desire of terminating affairs. Go to Paris."

"When?"

"To-morrow. It will please him; you will understand each other: he will see a cardinal, a man of ability; you will arrange the concordat with him. If you do not go to Paris, I must break off with you; and if I do, Murat, another Berthier, will march on Rome." He assured the cardinal that he would take the whole responsibility on himself, and asked an audience with the pope, to whom he had a few words to say to carry out previous instructions of the First Consul.

The cardinal immediately repaired to the pope, to prepare him for the audience. When Cacault was admitted, Pius VII made him sit down quite near him. "You are, sir, one whom we regard with great friendship. Your advice, not to sign a concordat in three days, is in your position an admirable action. But, Consalvi at Paris, Rome abandoned, and we alone in this desert!"

"Most Holy Father," replied Cacault, "I pledge you my word as a Christian and a man of honor, that I give this counsel of myself; that no one has suggested it to me; that my government knows nothing of it; that I act here solely for the common good of the two courts, and perhaps more in your interest than in my own. The First Consul honors you; he told me: 'Treat the pope as though he had two hundred thousand men.' He recognizes you as a great power. At this moment he apparently sees double around him, for he no longer speaks on a certain footing of equality. If he takes the advantage, a noble confidence will restore it. Deprive yourself of Consalvi for a few months: he will return a far abler man."

"You laugh," said the pope, "with these soldiers that you credit us with. We accept them only to restore them. And then, it is true that the soldiers of Christ are many."

"Holy Father, Cardinal Consalvi must set out instantly

and bear your answer; he will manœuvre at Paris with the power also that you will give him. I am fifty-nine years old. I have settled many affairs since the complicated dispute about the States of Brittany. I overlook nothing of the misery of the people of Italy. To ruin me, they call me the friend of kings. I am not suspected. Something stronger, doubtless, than grave reason, an instinct, one of those instincts of animals, if you like, which never deceives them, advises, pursues me: I see the Consul, worthy, cold, satisfied, maintaining his position amid his counsellors who dissuade him. And where is the difficulty? They accuse you. You appear in a manner in person. What is required? A religious concordat. We bring one all ready."

The pope, greatly moved, shed many tears. "True friend," he exclaimed, "we love you as we loved our mother; we will retire this moment to our oratory to ask God whether this journey can be happy, and whether success will relieve our anxiety, in withdrawing us from this abyss of grief."

The next morning Cardinal Consalvi and Cacault started together, the latter stopping at Florence, while the envoy of the pope hastened to Paris to concert the terms of the concordat. He imprudently wrote to the Chevalier Acton, at Naples: "The good of religion requires a victim. I am going to see the First Consul: I go to martyrdom. God's will be done."

Concordats are arrangements between the civil governments and the pope, relative to the affairs of the Church. They are the effect of the usurpations of the State on the rights of the Church, a compulsory yielding by the Holy See to the encroachments of the civil power, always to be deplored but not always to be avoided.

One of the most important points in these treaties is the nomination of bishops. In early times the bishops, to be

canonical, were elected by the clergy of the diocese. Such was the case in France at the commencement of the Capetian dynasty. The metropolitans and bishops of the ecclesiastical province confirmed the choice by giving their adhesion, and consecrated the bishop-elect. The Council of Rheims, held in 1148, expressly ordered that elections should be made solely by the clergy. It has been said that the people also enjoyed this right; but it was merely as we should say that the clergy acted by and with the consent of the people, refraining from choosing any one odious to them, and perhaps at times waiving a selection made, for one more unexceptionable; but it was never held that co-operation by the people was necessary to the canonicity of a bishop's election.

By the year 1215, the chapters—that is, the body of canons at the cathedral of the bishop—had succeeded in assuming to themselves the right of electing the bishop, depriving the clergy of their right, and the people of their modified powers. The clergy at this time declared that they would continue to exercise the rights of the clergy, in order to avoid the frequent dissensions, quarrels, briberies, and scandals that so frequently disgraced the elections. The chapters, however, in all cases applied to the king for his permission. This was the fundamental error, this recognition of a royal right in the matter, and we cannot be surprised at the result.

The Assembly of Bourges, in 1438, adopted the Pragmatic Sanction, reviving the ancient discipline, but this was abolished by a concordat entered into in 1515, by Leo X and Francis I. By this the elective mode was abolished, and the right of nomination was reserved to the king, while the pope was to institute the new bishop. Down to the reign of Charles IX, clergy, parliaments, and universities struggled against this regulation.

This concordat limited the persons from whom the king

was to select. The candidate was to be a suitable person, a grave master or licentiate in theology, or in both canon and civil law, or in one of them, promoted in a famous university after a strict examination, and at least twenty-seven years of age. If the person nominated did not reach this standard, the pope could reject him; if the second nomination was no better, the pope was to fill the see.

Such was the system that prevailed down to the Revolution. Now a new state of things existed. The Catholic religion, as the religion of state, had been swept away. Most of the bishops were in exile; the churches, where standing, were bare or profaned; the clergy scattered or dead; seminaries had disappeared; religious orders had all followed in that march in which the Society of Jesus led the way.

Bonaparte wished to begin all anew; he desired the abolition of the old sees, the division of France into new dioceses, to which new bishops should be appointed. This was one great difficulty. At last, however, the pope, relying on the true Catholic spirit of those noble confessors of the faith, who would, he could not doubt, make one more sacrifice to see religion again restored in France, agreed to this.

On the 15th of July, 1801, the concordat was signed. It was as follows:

Convention between His Holiness Pius VII and the French Government

The government of the republic recognizes that the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is the religion of the great majority of French citizens.

His Holiness also recognizes that this same religion has derived, and at this moment expects anew, the greatest good and glory from the establishment of Catholic worship in

France, and the especial profession thereof made by the consuls of the republic.

Consequently, after the mutual recognition, both for the good of religion and the maintenance of internal tranquillity, they have agreed on the following:

Article I

The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France. Its worship shall be public, conforming to the regulations of internal administration which the government shall deem necessary for the public tranquillity.

Article II

A new circumscription of the French dioceses shall be made by the Holy See in concert with the government.

Article III

His Holiness will declare to the incumbents of the French sees that he expects from them, with a firm confidence, for the sake of peace and unity, sacrifices of every kind, even to the resignation of their sees.

If, after this exhortation, they refuse this sacrifice, commanded by the well-being of the Church (a refusal nevertheless which His Holiness does not expect), the dioceses of the new circumscription shall be provided with new bishops in the following manner:

Article IV

The First Consul of the republic will, within three months after the publication of His Holiness's bull, nominate to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the new circumscription.

His Holiness will confer canonical institution according to the forms established in regard to France before the change of government.

Article V

The nominations to sees hereafter to fall vacant shall also be made by the First Consul, and canonical institution will be given by the Holy See, in conformity with the preceding article.

Article VI

The bishops, before entering on their functions, shall take, directly in the hands of the First Consul, the oath of fidelity, which was in use before the change of government, expressed in the following terms:

"I swear and promise to God, on his holy Gospels, to observe obedience and fidelity to the government established by the constitution of the French republic. I also promise to have no understanding with, assist in no council, entertain no league, either within or without, which shall be contrary to the public tranquillity; and if in my diocese or elsewhere I learn that anything is plotted to the prejudice of the State, I will impart it to the government."

Article VII

Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath, in the hands of the civil authorities named by the government.

Article VIII

The following form of prayer shall be recited at the end of the divine office in all the Catholic churches of France:

"Domine, salvam fac rempublicam. Domine, salvos fac consules."

Article IX

The bishops shall make a new circumscription of the parishes in their dioceses, which shall be of no effect till approved by government.

Article X

The bishops shall appoint to the parishes. Their choice shall fall only on persons acceptable to government.

Article XI

Bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for their diocese, without any obligation on the part of government to endow them.

Article XII

All the metropolitan churches, cathedrals, parishes, and others not alienated, necessary to worship, shall be put at the disposal of the bishops.

Article XIII

His Holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy restoration of the Catholic religion, declares that neither he nor his successors will disquiet in any manner the holders of alienated ecclesiastical property; and that, consequently, the right to said property, with the rights and revenues attached thereto, shall remain incommutable in their hands or those of their representatives.

Article XIV

The government will secure a suitable salary to the bishops, and to parish priests whose dioceses and parishes are comprised in the new circumscription.

Article XV

Government will also take measures to enable French Catholics, when so disposed, to create foundations in favor of churches.

Article XVI

His Holiness recognizes, in the First Consul of the French republic, the same rights and prerogatives enjoyed at Rome by the former government.

Article XVII

It is agreed between the contracting parties that in case any successor of the present First Consul should not be a Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the last article, and the nomination to sees, shall be regulated, so far as he is concerned, by a new convention.

The ratifications to be exchanged at Paris within forty days.

Done at Paris, 26th Messidor, year IX of the French republic, July 15, 1801.

H. Card. Consalvi (L. S.).
J. Bonaparte.
J. Archevêque de Corinthe.
Fr. Charles Caselli (L. S.).
Cretet (L. S.).
Bernier (L. S.).

Consalvi returned to Rome, to submit this concordat to the ratification of the Holy Father. Pius VII signed it on the 15th of August, as Bonaparte did on the 8th of September. Cardinal Caprara, who had been elevated to the purple by Pius VI, June 8, 1792, was appointed legate a latere, to carry out the restoration of worship in France.

The exiled French bishops were a source of great anxiety. As early as September 27, 1801, Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne, with thirteen other bishops then in England, wrote, declining to accede to the request of His Holiness. In their opinion, the only way to restore peace to the Church in France was one to be adopted by an assembly of all the bishops of the Gallican Church, a thing in itself utterly impracticable.

This letter deeply afflicted the Holy Father. He said to Cardinal Consalvi: "We are entering on a sea of affliction." The secretary replied: "I expected the letter, but I did not think it would arrive so soon. All here demands the most serious reflection. Our intentions are upright and religious. God will not permit us to go astray. Is this assembly of all the bishops possible? Those who write to us are banished by law, and kept out of France by another authority than that which they honor. Yes, virtuous prelates groan in exile, but France contains so many Catholics who have no pastors." He could say no more to the Holy Father, who regarded him with emotion.

But while some of the old French hierarchy thus increased the difficulties of his position, others consoled Pius by their spirit of sacrifice. The Bishop of Marseilles, bending under his ninety-two years, wrote: "Full of veneration and obedience for the decrees of the Holy Father, and wishing ever to be united to him in mind and heart, I do not hesitate to place in the hands of His Holiness my resignation of the see

of Marseilles. It is enough that he deems it necessary for the preservation of religion in France, for me to resign myself to it."

"From attachment to religion," wrote the Bishop of Senlis, "to preserve Catholic unity, to secure the good and well-being of the faithful, and to second the paternal invitation of His Holiness, I voluntarily, and with full consent, abandon the episcopal see of Senlis, and make a free demission thereof in the hands of His Holiness."

The bishops of Saint Claude, Saint Papoul, Alais, Saint Malo, and Angers wrote with equal generosity and devotedness.

On the 4th of October the legate a latere reached Paris. The First Consul was convinced of the good faith of the Roman court. He was at the time successful in all his negotiations. Accordingly, he resolved to write of his own accord to the pope, to whom he announced the peace concluded with England and Russia, as well as treaties of amity signed with Portugal and the Ottoman Porte. He besought His Holiness to proceed to the nomination of a new grand master of the Knights of Malta. In conclusion, he offered to address the court of Naples, to induce them to restore to the Holy See the principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, which the Chevalier Acton pretended to retain. The First Consul advised the pope to raise troops to occupy Ancona; treated of the national property sold by the Roman republic and resumed by the apostolic chamber, which promised to refund, in valid money, one fourth the sums paid for them in depreciated currency.

The counsellors of the pope were not, however, all favorable to the concordat, any more than those who surrounded Bonaparte. The pope's chief advisers were Monsignor Bertazzoli, administrator of the see of Imola, a calm and polished

man, of weak disposition, but an early friend of Cardinal Chiaramonti, whom he actually enabled, by a loan of money, to proceed to Venice to take part in the conclave; Cardinal Pacca, formerly nuncio to Germany and Portugal, a man of intellect, a distinguished writer, of a mild but firm character, noble and decided in his religious views; Monsignor di Pietro, a consummate theologian; Monsignor Menochio. Cardinal Maury also for a time was frequently consulted, and Cardinal Antonelli and Cardinal Aurelius Roverella exercised a certain influence from their action in the conclave. All these, except Cardinal Pacca, were more or less opposed to Cardinal Consalvi, while Cardinal Fabricius Ruffo, minister plenipotentiary of Naples at Rome, was constantly laboring to satisfy the discontent of his sovereign.

Three days after the arrival of Cardinal Caprara at Paris, Monsieur Portalis was invested with the direction of all affairs relating to worship. He was to labor directly with the consuls. His duties were: (1) To present projects of laws, regulations, decrees, and decisions in regard to worship; (2) To submit to the nomination of the First Consul proper candidates to fill the places in the ministry of the different worships; (3) To examine, before their publication in France, all rescripts, bulls, and briefs of the court of Rome; (4) To conduct all the correspondence connected with these matters.

Portalis was an esteemed state councillor, known for his talents as a jurisconsult, his probity, his religious feelings; but he was to find in the council opponents who led him beyond his own ideas and won the First Consul over to their views.

Meanwhile the pope thus replied to the letter of the First Consul:

"Pius, PP. VII.

"Most dear Son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction:

"We have already informed you, by our letter of the 14th instant, of our joy at the peace concluded with England; we have received, too, with a special feeling of sensibility at your attention to us, the news you give us of the peace concluded with Russia, Portugal, and the Porte. Great is our satisfaction to see harmony restored among so many European powers, and we cannot learn this benefit without honoring and admiring your wisdom.

"We return thanks to Divine Providence for so auspicious an event, which arrests the evils so long oppressing humanity, and promises the most prosperous success for the good of religion.

"We have ordered public demonstrations of joy at the same time that thanksgiving shall be offered to the Almighty. To ourselves we reserve the solemn chanting of the Te Deum in Saint Peter's, thus celebrating the ecclesiastical convention happily concluded with France, when it shall please you to publish that treaty, which we ask with most ardent desire.

"We congratulate you on the great and noble actions by which you are distinguished, and which bring happiness to men, advantage and glory to religion.

"In regard to the affair of Malta, you express a desire for our intervention with the various courts of Europe for the reorganization of the order, to which Malta is to be restored; the desire of our heart harmonizes with your projects for the re-establishment of that order, according to the provisions of its statutes.

"We can, of course, intervene in the matter only in the form becoming the chief of the Catholic religion; and in that sense we have replied not only to Russia, but also to Spain.

"We have ordered our secretary of state to inform you more in detail, both by our cardinal legate and by your minister resident here, of what has occurred recently in the matter; and we have expressed our intentions. We are not yet fully able to interpose in this affair: on the one hand, Spain presents a great obstacle, because, failing to obtain the separation it had solicited, it opposes every measure tending to give the order a superior; on the other hand, various Catholic powers have already taken steps in other directions.

"Meanwhile, we shall make every possible effort on our side to succeed and to conciliate the contrary views; and we entertain the hope of seeing the happy circumstance of a general peace facilitate our operations.

"With regard to the affair of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, of which you speak, courteously offering to take the preliminary steps to secure their restoration to us, it is true that His Sicilian Majesty, after occupying those two small States, has only partially restored them to the Holy See. There exists a declaration made by His Majesty, and a public edict, in which His Majesty declares that he has restored to us the useful sovereignty, reserving to himself the eminent domain. In this manner the Holy See becomes feudatory to the king in regard to that part of his States; when, on the contrary, the well-known rights of the Church (rights the recognition of which has been interrupted only a few years) show that the King of Sicily is a feudatory of the Holy See for his entire kingdom.

"It is also true that with the reserve of eminent domain the king has established a military garrison, makes new levies, and exercises other sovereign rights incompatible with our free sovereignty. Although the representations made by us against all these acts have not hitherto met with a successful

issue, still we are not without hope of the result of the recent observations addressed by us to His Majesty.

"We know how advantageous it will be to us if we avail ourselves of your courteous offer of mediation that Benevento and Ponte Corvo be restored to us in such sort that we enjoy as complete sovereignty as our predecessors enjoyed; but we have determined in our own hearts to maintain perfect harmony with the sovereigns, and avoid ill feeling on all possible occasions. To remove all unpleasantness from monarchs united by blood to His Majesty, and who might take it ill that we did not apply to them in order to obtain this act of justice from His Sicilian Majesty, and at the same time to remove all pretext for dissatisfaction on the part of any sovereign who might complain that we sought to force him by an imposing mediation, we must say with the accustomed candor of our heart:

"Since you so graciously offer us your mediation, you would do us a greater pleasure by acting in this matter in such a way that your course should be taken for a spontaneous result of the interest taken by you in our well-being.

"We thank you for the obliging manner in which you so kindly enter into the details of the security necessary for the preservation of our State, now deprived of armed forces. We shall follow your advice by increasing the number of our troops, and we shall especially provide for the garrison of Ancona. You know that we lack means of attaining this, but they will come, we trust, with the results of peace, and the effect of your attachment to the Holy See and your affection for our person.

"Notwithstanding our great poverty, you see that we give to the holders of the national property the fourth of the value which they really paid, without being controlled by the fact

that Naples, Venice, and other States have annulled these contracts without any indemnity. Yet you know what a difference there is between the burdens supported by our State during the whole of the war, and those which fell upon the States adjacent to us. You know, too, how different were the results of that war, at the close of which we find ourselves deprived of three legations, besides the States of Avignon and Carpentras, rich and flourishing provinces which formed half of our States. We implore their restitution, with implicit confidence in you.

"Should we fear that you will treat us less generously than you do other princes, to whom you grant an indemnity? Should we fear from you that the result of this war, which did not deprive our neighbor, the King of Naples, of a handbreath of territory, will be so calamitous to the Holy See that it must lose half its States and its most valuable domains?

"We will also beg you to reflect on the conduct pursued by the Holy See towards France. Under our predecessor the Holy See would not take measures to which invitations were not wanting; it confined itself to simple defence against a determined aggression. Under our administration it has given you no cause of complaint. We appeal to your own testimony as to our course of action with yourself.

"We shall finally beg you to consider the absolute impossibility of subsistence, in which the sovereignty of our States is oppressed by immense burdens, deprived almost entirely of the subsidies by which foreign countries formerly contributed to the support and honor of the Head of Religion. We have left only a few provinces; and those five, except the Marches, the poorest, all incapable of meeting their own wants.

"We shall remark only that the allowance to be given to seventy cardinals (few, as foreigners, being provided elsewhere), the allowance to prelates for expensive offices (we

find ourselves in the greatest embarrassment when we have to select persons for nunciatures), leave us in the greatest penury. The benefices in foreign countries are lost; those remaining in our provinces are poor, the best being in the legations, and, to an extraordinary extent, below such grave necessities.

"We implore of your wise, just, and magnanimous heart the restitution of the three legations, and a compensation for the loss of Avignon and Carpentras, decreed by the Constituent Assembly; and we doubt not but that, following the flattering expressions with which you have struck our ears, you will compete for the glory of benefactor to the Holy See with the ancient rulers of France, to whom it owes so much, as we make it a duty to recall in gratitude.

"We have many motives for congratulation in the conduct of the French at Rome, and especially of the most worthy minister Cacault, who is so attached to you, to the honor of the nation, and so animated with your spirit.

"We will not, O dear son, detain you longer with this letter, which we dictate, to spare you the trouble of reading our not very legible handwriting.

"Therefore, after once more commending to you the great interests of religion, we close, granting you affectionately, with all our heart, the paternal apostolical benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, the 24th of October, 1801, of our pontificate the second.

"Pius, PP. VII."

The courier who bore this bore also a letter from Cardinal Consalvi to Cardinal Caprara, directing him to solicit earnestly the restoration of the body of Pius VI, interred, as we have seen, in the cemetery at Valence. The application was not without effect, and we have inserted the official orders

given by the French government for transferring the sacred deposit to Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth.

Bonaparte complained of the delay of the pontiff in carrying out the concordat. In his military way, he wished the old bishops at once deprived, unheard and unjudged. There was also a difficulty in regard to those priests who, accepting the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, had been made bishops under it. Some of these constitutional bishops were high in favor with the dominant party, and Bonaparte proposed some of them for the new sees. It was a position of great difficulty. The pope was called upon to deprive bishops of unquestioned orthodoxy, and commit the guidance of the fold to pastors who had directly incurred the express censure of the Church.

The reply of the Holy See on these points, on the 30th of November, 1801, was as follows:

"His Holiness has thus far received the replies of twenty-seven bishops, all conformable to his wishes. They freely resign their dioceses. His Holiness is informed that others will follow. All the bishops residing in London except five refuse. The replies of the others have not arrived, and it is not known whether in their scattered condition they have all received the brief, although we know it has been transmitted. Nor have we the reply of the other bishops from whom it was necessary at the same time to ask their consent to the dismemberment of their church and diocese, which are incorporated in the new circumscription of the dioceses of France.

"The rules of the Church, and the constant usage of the Holy See under the circumstances, required His Holiness to await the replies to the brief. This is required also by the very interest of the numerous and worthy body of French incumbents. It removes, moreover. all pretext for com-

plaint from a great many of them, struck down by the unexpected blow of a request for their resignation.

"It will be advantageous for the pacific execution of the concordat that they should not have reason to complain of not having been heard, since they are so offended at not having heard beforehand, and protest against the brevity of the period of ten days granted, styling it indiscreet and excessive. But in an affair of this importance, and in the actual and extraordinary state of things, in such imperious circumstances, His Holiness will look only at religion itself, and is ready to waive all canonical rules, saving dogma. His Holiness wishes to do in these extraordinary circumstances all that is not impossible to him.

"Consequently, although proceeding to the annihilation of all jurisdiction in the incumbents (a necessary sequel to the suppression of the old sees and the creation of new ones); although proceeding to the dismemberment of dioceses which, belonging to other bishops, will be comprised in the new circumscription; although this action is so strong a step, especially when done without the consent or intervention of the bishops, although it is unexampled in the eighteen centuries of the Church, His Holiness is determined, in order to effect the restoration of religion in France, and show the First Consul his condescension in whatever is not actually impossible to him, to send, as he now does, a bull concerning a new circumscription of the dioceses of France, as requested."

To facilitate matters, Pius VII empowered Cardinal Caprara to institute the new bishops in the name of His Holiness, and confer canonical jurisdiction upon them by authority of the Holy See, on which they could be consecrated and assume the direction of their churches without waiting for the arrival of their bulls from Rome.

"His Holiness," continues the letter of Cardinal Consalvi, "would have wished to be able to gratify the First Consul as well in regard to the nomination of the fifteen constitutional bishops to whom he is desired to give canonical institution; but the undersigned has orders to declare that, in the terms in which the note of Councillor Portalis and the despatches of his Eminence are expressed, the thing is intrinsically impossible: it wounds the substance of the deposit of the faith; and there are, moreover, insurmountable obstacles in the conscience of the Holy Father, and the obligations of his apostolate.

"His Holiness says that, this sacred deposit having been transmitted to him intact from the hands of his predecessors, he wishes to deliver it pure and intact to his successors, as required by the duty of the primacy of the Universal Church, which God has confided to him.

"The case of the constitutional bishops is already decided by the Apostolic See, in the dogmatic brief of Pius VI beginning 'Charitas.' That dogmatic definition cannot be reformed. His Holiness may mitigate the penalties therein inflicted on the said bishops, but the judgment of his predecessor in a matter of faith is irrefragable.

"The Catholic world and the whole episcopal body have received and respected this judgment of the Holy See. This is known to a demonstration.

"The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was condemned by the same dogmatic judgment of Pius VI, as containing errors against the deposit of faith.

"The constitutional bishops have adhered to this constitution under oath. By virtue of this constitution they have been elected, and illegitimately occupied the episcopal sees.

"As long as the constitutional bishops do not recognize their illegitimate character, expressly declared in the said

dogmatic judgment, the Holy Father says that they themselves place him in the impossibility of admitting them to his communion, and still more of instituting them pastors of the flock which they have scandalized by an act requiring such a definitive judgment of the Church.

"Far from acknowledging their illegitimate character, the constitutional bishops openly assume in their acts of resignation that they are legitimate; some of them even venture to say that they ascended their sees without canonical opposition, which is equivalent to assailing absolutely the contrary dogmatic judgment pronounced on this very question by the Holy See and accepted by all Catholicism.

"On this subject His Holiness observes that they openly contradict themselves in their resignation, recognizing the sovereign pontiff as the centre of unity of the Catholic Church, while in fact they sever themselves from it by refusing what has been ordained and prescribed by the Holy See.

"His Holiness observes that, as his predecessor found it impossible to yield to the request made, and from which the French government desisted spontaneously, namely, that he would recall the said briefs of condemnation, it is equally impossible for him to admit to his communion and invest with canonical institution the constitutionals, who, contrary to the dogmatic decision contained in said briefs, persist in maintaining the error condemned in them, refuse to acknowledge their illegitimate character, and to adhere and submit to the judgment pronounced by the Holy See.

"It is evident, says the Holy Father, that if this were done otherwise, he would ipso facto revoke what is contained in those briefs, which his predecessor could not himself do.

"The declaration published by them in certain letters, that they profess the same faith as the apostles, is not sufficient in the eyes of His Holiness.

"The faith of the apostles was, and must be, the faith of Saint Peter. The apostles themselves acknowledged him as head of the Church. When the constitutional bishops do not conform to, but on the contrary oppose the judgment of the Roman pontiff, the successor of Saint Peter, which successor has the same faith as Saint Peter, the same magistracy of doctrine, they do not verify in substance that their faith is that of the apostles. Many schismatics and heretics, while persisting in their errors, have declared that they had the faith of the apostles, but the Church has not therefore believed it.

"His Holiness, in his brief addressed to the Archbishop of Corinth, has mitigated, as far as his authority permits, what the Holy Apostolic See has deemed right to require from the constitutional bishops. The brief speaks of no penalties. It imposes no satisfaction; it merely exacts from them the giving of a generic explanation, and requires that they adhere and submit to the judgments emanating from the Holy See on the ecclesiastical affairs of France.

"These expressions comprise, in the mildest manner, the recognition of their illegitimacy, and the errors of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy to which they have sworn to adhere; all of which matters are condemned by the dogmatic judgment of the Holy See; and this is the least that His Holiness can do to retain the substance of that judgment which he has no power to change. While acting thus, His Holiness has yielded to the utmost to the views of government; he does not require of the bishops a solemn retractation, as required by the brief Charitas of his predecessor.

"His Holiness has had the satisfaction of seeing that the government to which the brief to the Archbishop of Corinth was shown, containing these measures, declared itself fully satisfied.

"The constitutional bishops have refused to submit to it:

far from adopting the formula proposed to them by the Holy Father, they have used other formulas, and these, as has been already stated, confirm and sustain their error.

"In this position of affairs, the duty of the apostolate, the substance of faith and not a sentiment of pride, a sentiment foreign to the heart of His Holiness, prevent his being satisfied with the above-mentioned formulas. His Holiness has clearly proved that he has no sentiments of pride. He has made the advance to the constitutional bishops, and first invited them to meet and lay aside their error by obeying the briefs communicated to them by Monsignor Spina. Thus acted His Holiness at a time when the conduct pursued by the constitutional bishops, in the pretended national council against the Holy See, might more than ever justify his holding aloof.

"His Holiness is ready to give a new proof, by clasping to his heart, by admitting to his communion, by instituting even those among them who shall be nominated by the First Consul, provided they fulfil what is prescribed in the brief and in the instruction sent at the same time to the cardinal legate. It has been rendered necessary by the fact of their new persistence in error after cognizance of the brief. This error is manifested in their formulas of resignation, now known to the whole Catholic world, because they have been printed in the public papers.

"A matter of faith is in question. His Holiness observes that, according to the rules of faith, it belongs to him, and to no other, to judge what the constitutional bishops have done in regard to said formulas, by pronouncing the profession of faith and the oath, and to confer institution if they are nominated. His Holiness is convinced that the religion of the First Consul will approve this judgment.

"The rules and constant practice of the Church have always required that none should be received into its bosom,

much less assigned as pastors, who have left any heresy or schism, unless they avow expressly that they condemn especially their errors.

"His Holiness has advanced to the last accessible degree, by proposing to the constitutionals a formula of implicitly condemning the error, making them adhere to the judgment of the Holy See which has condemned that error. They, on the contrary, have professed their error anew, in their formula, as above remarked.

"His Holiness observes that the profession of faith of Pius IV, and the oath, suffice for those who are not suspected of adhering to any error in faith, when the presumption is in their favor; but when an error has been professed, the Church has required an express explicit profession.

"His Holiness cannot alter the substance of this rule; he has reduced it to the simplest formula, by generically requiring the above-mentioned formula.

"To this is added a very important fact. The constitutional bishops pronounced the profession of faith of Pius IV when they held their pretended national councils. They at the same time professed and continued to profess their error by maintaining their legitimacy, the non-canonicity of the opposition of the Holy See, in the formulas of their already cited demission.

"His Holiness sees nothing humiliating for them to declare that they adhere and submit to the judgment of the Holy See on the ecclesiastical affairs of France. If they recognize His Holiness as head and centre of unity, it is not humiliating for bishops to submit to his judgments. These very words were proposed by the Holy Father as containing no humiliation. The French government itself has thought so.

"The Holy Father adds that to confess one's error is an act of humility which shows a great and virtuous soul; that

there is nothing humiliating in it, especially for bishops, and it will acquire them, on the contrary, an immortal glory before God and men.

"The Catholics, who form the majority in France, accustomed to regard the constitutionals as schismatics, will not grant them their esteem till they see them renounce their error. Every one knows how much esteem Fénelon acquired by a similar act. The pope asks much less of the constitutional bishops.

"When they resign their sees, when they solicit bulls for their institution, they must resign, acknowledging that they have illegitimately occupied them, and ask institution, recognizing as a principle that this should be done.

"But in resigning they claim legitimacy; while asking institution they declare that they adhere to the convention between the Holy See and France. This convention does not contain all the principles contrary to their error, because it does not mention them, and what it contains may be understood as a thing agreed upon by the contract.

"Although the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was not the work of ecclesiastics, His Holiness observes that from the moment when it was contrary to the Catholic religion, as dogmatically defined by the Holy See, the constitutional bishops could not adhere to it, still less persist in their error after a judgment given. It is true that, on the one hand, they obeyed the law; but unfortunately that law, which forms no part of the constitution of the French government, is in opposition to the Catholic religion; they are bound to adhere and submit to the judgment of the Holy See. Without entering into civil affairs, it has solely condemned the error in regard to faith where it departs from it.

"Expression has been given to the fear that, by exacting such a submission from the constitutionals, some dissension

may arise between the priesthood and the empire, and the dignity of the nation be compromised; but it should be reflected that in the present circumstances the government is fully satisfied with the brief of His Holiness."

Notwithstanding these just and sensible observations, the constitutional party held out stubbornly, and Cardinal Caprara arranged matters according to his best judgment under his instructions, so that there were some satisfactory explanations, which it was thought best to accept, to avoid public scandal.

The great affair with France was not the only case that troubled the pontiff. On the 9th of October, the Chevalier de Vargas, minister of Spain at Rome, demanded that the nuncio's jurisdiction at Madrid should be abolished, and his duties restricted to those of a mere ambassador from the pope as a temporal prince, or those of a legate of the primate and head of the Church, sent to Spain to show, by his presence, the communion of the Spanish Church with the Church of Rome, which is the centre of unity. They wished all ecclesiastical cases to be determined by Spanish judges, according to Spanish jurisprudence and forms of law.

To this attempt to throw off all but a nominal allegiance to the Holy See, Cardinal Consalvi replied on the 9th of January, 1802. He recapitulated the ordinances concerning the tribunal of the nunciature, published at Madrid in 1640–1641, by Philip IV, after a previous arrangement with Urban VIII; the concordat of June 17, 1717, between Clement XI and Philip V; the concordat of 1737; and the brief of Clement XIV, March 26, 1771, permitting the erection of a Rota of Spanish judges, but reserving the so-called contentious jurisdiction to the nuncio. Reminding him, then, that the popes had made greater concessions to the kings of Spain than to any other power, he concluded thus:

"The temporal sovereignty of His Holiness is only secondary, beside his supreme apostolate. His Holiness can have only nuncios. This title belongs to his ambassadors. It is this character which secures them precedence. The popes have always sent legates or nuncios, with the real object of watching over the interests of remote Catholics, and they have never had any idea of thereby showing parity of communion between the Roman Church and other churches. Any other mode of considering things is contrary to ecclesiastical discipline and absurd in itself."

The proposal to do away with the canon law was similarly disposed of.

In another note of the same date, October 9, Vargas had asked for the Spanish bishops the right to pronounce on all dispensations of marriage, secularization, indults for oratories. This was another war upon the Holy See. To grant these demands to Spain would have required granting them to every nation in Europe. Cardinal Consalvi replied officially on the 9th of January:

"The Roman pontiff is the sole and supreme dispenser from the positive laws of the Church: such have Catholics at all times considered him.

"Were he not so, he would cease to be the visible head of the Church. Unable to dispense, he would no longer have the absolute power of the keys; and if others dispensed, the first authority would not be concentrated in the pope alone. Your Excellency's note says that this operation could be effected without diminishing in the least the authority of the Holy Father. Can it be imagined that an active authority can be perpetually and irrevocably changed into an inert authority without exercise, and yet that authority remain intact?

"At the moment of the past Revolution, Pius VI dele-

gated such a permission to his nuncios residing near the various sovereigns; but he delegated it during the tempest."

Meanwhile the body of Pius VI had been delivered without any display to the Archbishop of Corinth, who was slowly advancing to Rome with this sacred deposit. Then it became necessary to translate to the Church of the Holy Apostles the remains of Clement XIV, which had lain so long above the left-hand door of the chapel of the choir in Saint Peter's, because there the body of Pius VI was to be placed. Lorenzini, the notary who had drawn up the official act of interment in September, 1774, was summoned as notary of the Vatican to identify the body. After twenty-seven years, four months, and twenty-seven days, the body was found in a singular state of preservation; only the mitre was somewhat sunk in behind the mask which covered the face. At the feet was a bag of crimson velvet, with gold tassels, containing the gold and silver medals struck during the first years of his pontificate. The ceremony of the recognition and translation took place January 21, 1802.

The body of Pius VI had already reached the pontifical territory. Cardinal Consalvi reminded the pope that it was time to practise the religion of reparation. It was resolved to display extraordinary pomp on this occasion, and appeal to the generosity of the Roman nobility. At the moment of the arrival of the convoy in Rome, Canova, whose admirable advice was sought on the occasion, was decorated by the pope with the Cross of the Golden Milice, an honorary distinction when conferred by the pope himself, with a special and explicit brief. Preparations were accordingly made to pay to the remains of the pontiff the most solemn honors.

All had to be invented, for the circumstance was new. Shortly before breathing his last sigh, Pius VI had confirmed a wish expressed in his will, in which he asked that

his remains, if God permitted it, should be transported beneath the tomb of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, before which he had so often prayed in life. This desire had long been known to the Cardinal Duke of York, who made it known to the reigning pontiff. Pius VII, both to carry out the pious wish of the deceased and satisfy the impulse of his own heart and the desires of the Romans, who longed to possess the remains of the persecuted pope, ordered the necessary steps to be taken with the First Consul; and this application had, as we have seen, met with complete success. It was accordingly announced that the remains of the last pope, who had expired in France, were to be translated from Valence, on the Rhône, to Saint Peter's. Monsignor Spina, to whom was assigned the honorable task of accepting and attending the body, received from clergy and people wherever he passed a welcome which betokened their piety and regret.

When the cortège approached Rome, an edict was published announcing that they were about to carry out, among others, the ceremonies which took place February 2, 1733, when the body of Benedict XIII, a religious of the order of Saint Dominic, was transferred from the palace of the Vatican to the Church of Saint Mary sopra Minerva.

Monsignor Louis Gazzoli, auditor-general of the chamber, was appointed by the pope to direct the funeral pomp, and Monsignor Lanté, treasurer-general, to furnish the necessary funds. Both asked detailed instructions from the pope, but Pius VII replied: "We have not much money, but you will take also all that is in our privy purse."

Scarcely was this known than offerings of tapers, torches, vestments, stuffs, and everything imaginable that could render the ceremonies imposing, began to pour in. Even foreign ministers did not wish to be excepted on the occasion.

Two prelates, Don Joseph Garzia Malo, prothonotary apostolic, and Joseph Marotti, secretary of briefs to princes, who, like Monsignor Spina, had courageously followed Pius till he breathed his last, proceeded to meet the corpse of their late master. To these two Pius VII added Monsignor John Baptist Mancurti and Monsignor Dominic Ginnasi of Imola, attached to his person.

On the 15th of February, the anniversary of the exaltation of Pius VI, created pope twenty-seven years before, the convoy reached the burgh of La Storta, and was there received by the grand penitentiary, Cardinal Antonelli, Bishop of Porto. His Eminence, whose episcopal jurisdiction embraced the church of La Storta, gave the absolution in his pontifical vestments, and the next day celebrated Mass in the presence of the body.

Details of infantry and cavalry began to act as a guard of honor, and many Romans came out of the city to meet the cortège.

On the 16th the convoy stopped at a palace belonging to the Duke of Bracciano, not far from the Gate of the People.

On Wednesday, February 17, at daybreak, a salvo of artillery announced the beginning of the ceremony.

The great Piazza del Popolo, lighted by a brilliant sun, was occupied by troops; the porticos of the palaces, the windows, and roofs being filled with spectators.

At nine o'clock in the morning the entire Noble Guard of the pope, with the Swiss Guard, marched out of the city to form around the coffin, placed on a catafalque twelve feet high and eight feet broad, adorned with violet damask fringed with gold, with a covering of cloth of gold edged with black velvet, bearing at the four corners the arms of Pius VI, a fleur-de-lis blown on by a zephyr, and the words: "Pius, PP. VI, P. M." In the middle rose a cushion

spangled with gold, on which stood the tiara crowning the whole.

Before noon His Excellency, Don Abbondio Rezzonico, senator of Rome and prince assistant to the throne, the conservators and fiscal of the capital, followed by nearly all the Roman nobility, advanced from the city to meet the convoy.

At one o'clock the Castle of Sant' Angelo gave the signal, and continued firing a cannon every three minutes. At that instant all the church bells in Rome began to toll.

When the city gates swung back to admit the funeral car, recalling such sad recollections, a spectacle was witnessed that filled the heart with the deepest emotion. The hearse was preceded by two hundred persons marching in close ranks, each bearing a lighted torch; as many with torches followed the car. The cortège then moved on, the pupils of the Hospice Saint Michael and the orphans opening the line. These were followed by the religious orders according to the rank which is assigned to them in ceremonies—the Institute of Penance, the Barefooted Augustinians, the Minims, the Capuchins, the Congregation of the Blessed Peter of Pisa, the Fathers of the Third Order of Saint Francis, the Conventuals, the Recollects, the Augustinians of the Congregation of Lombardy, the Hermits of Saint Augustine, the Carmelites, Servites, Dominicans, Canons of Saint Saviour, Cistercians, and Benedictines of Saint Calixtus.

Then came the parochial clergy of Rome, the canons of the nine collegiate churches, the chapters of the four minor basilicas, the clergy of the three patriarchal basilicas of Saint Mary Major, the Vatican, and Saint John Lateran.

Following them were seen the vicegerent, Monsignor Fenaia, Monsignor Atanasio, lieutenant, officer, and minister of His Eminence the cardinal-vicar La Somaglia, who preceded Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth.

The Roman Baronaggio next advanced, then the pope's majordomo, the bishops, apostolic prothonotaries, auditors of the Rota, votans of the signature, abbreviators, referendaries, all mounted on mules caparisoned in black; finally, all the rest of His Holiness's court, Prince Paluzzo Altieri at the head of the Noble Guard and the regiments then stationed at Rome, with arms reversed, four pieces of artillery covered with crape, the cavalry, carriages of the foreign ambassadors, and all the Roman nobility.

When the convoy passed before the bastions of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, the batteries fired repeated volleys, which did not cease till the body entered Saint Peter's, and the church bells of the city tolled more frequently.

The reception was to be made by Cardinal York, archpriest of the tumulant church, as that is styled where the body is to be deposited. The cardinal had merely sent his cross to the procession, but the pope, surrounded by the Sacred College, chose to be present, and he performed the first ceremonies prescribed by the sacred rite, and closed them with the solemn absolution.

The Noble and Swiss Guards remained near the body, which had been placed in the centre of the grand nave. Saint Peter's was thronged with crowds who wished to see the catafalque. Ranks had to be formed, and more than thirty thousand passed in front of the body and retired by the lateral naves.

In the evening the oak case containing the leaden coffin was conveyed into the great chapel of the choir, accompanied by the chapter of Saint Peter's chanting the Miserere, and was brought into the middle of the choir, where all the cardinals were assembled. There Monsignor Peter Francis Galeffi, steward and secretary, gave the absolution. They then proceeded to the formal recognition of the body.

The seals were declared intact. The wooden case was opened, and then the leaden coffin. The body was found entire, except that, in conveying it, it had been turned over and the nose and part of the face had been pressed against the lead.

The Latin inscription composed by Monsignor Marotti was found near the hand. At the knee was a purse containing a small number of pieces of money struck in the reign of Pius VI. The body had been buried in the white soutane and red stole; the pontifical habit and pallium were now added. Another purse, containing all the medals of his pontificate, was placed in the coffin beside the other, by Monsignor Lanté, treasurer-general. The lead coffin was then closed again, and a plate soldered on, inscribed:

PIUS VI, P. M.
A VALENTIA APUD RHODANUM
AD BASILICAM S. PETRI
SOLEMNITER TRANSLATUS
DIE XVIII FEBRUARII MDCCCII.

The wooden case was then closed and sealed with the seals of Cardinal York, archpriest; Cardinal Joseph Doria, procamerlinga of Holy Church; Monsignor Gavotti, majordomo of the sacred palace; and the seal of the chapter of Saint Peter's.

The ceremony was witnessed by the Archduchess Mariana, sister of the Emperor of Germany, and many foreigners of distinction.

The coffin was then transferred to the representation erected in the middle of the great nave, between the altar of the Blessed Virgin and the altar of Saint Gregory.

Farther on, before the Confession of Saint Peter, was placed an altar for the sacrifice of Mass. A throne for the

Holy Father was erected before the bronze statue of the Prince of the Apostles. Galleries were erected on each side for the archduchess, the Duke de Chablais, and the diplomatic corps, who were to attend the ceremony in a body, all in black. Farther on, places of honor, covered with tapestry, were reserved for the Roman nobility, Roman and foreign ladies.

The moment day broke on the 18th the celebration of about a thousand Masses began at the various altars of that mighty temple, all being declared privileged for that day.

A crowd greater than that of the eve besieged the doors of the basilica, and yet so immense is Saint Peter's that room was found for all. The great ceremony began. The Mass was chanted in presence of the pope by Cardinal Antonelli, the first whom Pius VI had invested with the purple.

"The novelty and magnificence of the spectacle," says Artaud, here an eye-witness, "absorbed all my attention. Words fail to describe the river of fire which waved around the catafalque; the towering height, the elaborate ornamentation of the representation; the crowds of kneeling citizens; the peasant women from every surrounding district, in their varied and brilliant attire, which contrasted so strangely with the universal mourning; the grave and austere forms of the Sacred College; and, finally, the sovereign pontiff, who seemed to belong more to heaven than earth."

Profound silence prevailed as Monsignor Joachim Tosi, selected to pronounce the Latin funeral oration, ascended the platform erected for the purpose. He pronounced his discourse in a clear, even, penetrating voice. He began by remarking that only four years less two days had elapsed since Pope Pius VI was torn from Rome. He would not attempt, he declared, to enumerate the services rendered to

the Holy See during a long pontificate: the works in the Pontine marshes, the obelisks erected, the museum enriched, the sound doctrines enforced by this successor of Saint Peter, who had approved himself doctor, pastor, head, and root of the Church, laboring unweariedly as a tender father, quia charitas patiens est.

He then spoke of his patience in suffering; showed the extent, the learning, and the immense importance of his letters, replies, decrees, and decisions, cutting the evil to the quick, explaining the truth distinctly, lucidly, nobly. What the heart and mind required was exposed ably; all doubt was discussed by the aid of the most certain dogmas of faith, errors branded and exposed.

The orator then described his visit to Vienna; his care of the foreign missions, of the new sees established at Baltimore, New Orleans, Pondicherry, in Siam and Tonquin.

After closing the enumeration of the labors of Pius VI as head of the Church and sovereign of Rome, he directly complimented the First Consul, who had given the sovereign pontiff so striking a mark of his good will by restoring the body of Pius VI.

Then he addressed the pope, and reminded him that the Church owed his elevation to the selection of the late pope.

When the funeral oration closed, the sovereign pontiff descended from his throne to give the five absolutions, assisted by the Cardinal Duke of York, Cardinals Mattei, Archetti, and Joseph Doria.

When the French left Rome, they were obliged to leave a part of the works of art confiscated in the Braschi and Albani palaces. These were stored near Ripa Grande, on the Tiber, under seal. The owners claimed them, and the French government consented to their restoration, but

wished to retain the colossal Antinous belonging to the Braschis, and six fine pieces belonging to the Albani collection—leaving it, however, to the pope to decide.

The pope saw no possibility of authorizing such a spoliation, but his decision gave great displeasure at Paris.

Pius VII, on his side, was afflicted that, notwithstanding the representations of the pontifical government, constitutionals had been nominated to episcopal sees, and that the concordat, when published at Easter, April 18, 1802, had been followed by the publication of organic articles not agreed upon between the French government and Cardinal Caprara.

Meanwhile, changes took place in the court of Sardinia. The holy Queen Clotilda died at Naples, on the 7th of March, after giving marks of the most exemplary piety. The pope could not refuse tears to the memory of this virtuous princess. Three months after her death, Charles Emmanuel IV, inconsolable for her loss, resolved to retire to a monastery. He abdicated in favor of his brother, the Duke of Asti, who took the name of Victor Emmanuel I. The abdicating prince reserved the title of king, and a pension of five hundred thousand dollars, which his brother was to augment if the family affairs improved.

The new court announced its wish to treat with the French government. It was divided into two parties: one at Rome desired the pope's intervention, the other at Naples sought the intervention of Chevalier Acton.

There was reason in desiring the intervention of the sovereign pontiff. Notwithstanding the displeasure given to the pope by the publication of the organic articles, it was known that the First Consul loved to see the pope intervene in various matters; and he had already declared in concert with England, which excited him to the step, that the inter-

ests of Europe required the election of a grand master of Malta, by the pope, at the earliest moment. The other powers of Europe were invited to concur in the act.

Bonaparte wished at Malta neither the Spaniard Godoy, Prince of Peace, who ambitioned it, nor a German; he wished an Italian, at least free to act. The pontiff was about to pronounce. Bonaparte, accordingly, wrote personally to the French minister at Naples: "It is necessary that the King of Naples leave the pope in the entire enjoyment of his States, and it is just that Benevento and Ponte Corvo continue to be placed on the same footing."

The chargé d'affaires of Russia, Count Cassini, a Piedmontese, was unfavorable to an election of grand master by the pope, and was most active in his endeavors against it.

Hompesch, who, as grand master, had surrendered the island to Bonaparte, now resided at Porto di Fermo, in the territories of the pope, and had not lost all hope of recovering possession of the power which he had so lightly lost.

The priories of the order could not unite in an election, and all the European powers seemed to look to the action of the pope as a preliminary to the restoration of the island to the Knights of Malta.

The candidates proposed were the bailli Taufkirken, a Bavarian; the Baron de Flachslanden, a Frenchman, attached to the service of Louis XVIII; Morawitzky, a Russian; Pfürdt Blumberg, the Baron de Rinch, Germans; Pignatelli, Masini, and Bonelli, named by the priory of Sicily; Counts Colloredo and Kollowrath, nominated in Bohemia; Roderic Manuel Gorjao and Carvalho Pinto, Portuguese; the bailli Tommasi, a Tuscan; and the bailli Ruspoli, a Roman.

Cardinal Spina, to whom His Holiness, for his many services, had given the cardinal's hat, on the 29th of March,

1802, solicited in the name of some Genoese that Hompesch should be generously treated; but the French ambassador, while relieving him pecuniarily, gave him little hope of being restored to his principality. The fallen grand master then solicited the cardinal's hat; but this honor was then, as we shall see, too eagerly sought to make such a gift possible.

In 1788 the revenues of Malta amounted to two million nine hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and seventy-one livres tournois, and the expenses to three million eighty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine livres; but this defect was made up before the end of the year. The order had now lost half its revenues by the suppression of the three French "languages." The expenses could not be reduced in the same proportion, especially those incurred by ambassadors, the maintenance of a ship of the line, three frigates, four galleys, two galiots, hospitals, and prisons. At the moment of the occupation of Malta the order was overwhelmed with debt, for Hompesch's administration had not been firm enough to restore the finances to a healthy condition.

The pope, therefore, felt embarrassed. He was to confer a high dignity with nothing to sustain it. He assembled a congregation of cardinals, summoning especially Cardinals Pietro and Caselli, recently employed in negotiating the concordat with France. He took their advice as to the merits of the different candidates for the office, and finally resolved to elect as grand master the bailli Ruspoli, brother of Prince Ruspoli, a Roman nobleman, who had been Austrian minister at the court of Naples, and was now decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece. Ruspoli was a man of distinguished talents. He possessed education, enlightenment, and natural ability. He was not altogether favorable to the French Revolution, but was known to be

moderate, wise, and prudent in the expression of his opinions.

On the 16th of September the Chevalier Nicholas Bussi was sent in haste to England, bearing to Ruspoli the brief of his election. The reply of the new grand master was anxiously awaited, inasmuch as he was indirectly under English influence, or would at least be influenced by the wishes of the British cabinet as to the restoration of the order. Bussi found the bailli Ruspoli in Scotland. He at once showed a disinclination to accept the office, and, after the intervention of English agents, gave a direct refusal in writing. The First Consul immediately pressed a new election, and the pope consented, the more willingly to avoid any difficulties about restoring the sovereignty to the order in case of further delay. Russia asked that a lieutenant only should be chosen, the pope having exhausted his right and faculty by one election. France, England, Austria, and Naples urged a new choice. Pius VII elected the bailli Tommasi, a Tuscan, residing in Sicily, within reach of Malta. When the news of the election was officially presented by Chevalier Bussi, Tommasi accepted. Acton offered a Neapolitan corvette to convey the new grand master to Messina, which Tommasi accepted.

On the 15th of March, 1803, Tommasi made Bussi bailli and his lieutenant commissary at Malta, with orders to prepare to receive Malta, Gozo, and Cumino; but the English government constantly raised up new difficulties, and, as we all know, finally refused absolutely to restore the island, which it holds to this day. The Knights of Malta, as a sovereign power, ceased to exist in Europe, and the flag which had so long been the terror of the sectaries of Mahomet no longer floated to the breeze. In the designs of Providence its task was accomplished.

If Bonaparte, in the matter of Benevento, had been so generous, and in that of Malta deferential to the Holy See, it was not without a motive. He wished to see France again represented in the Sacred College. In his eyes, Cardinal Montmorency was no longer French; Rohan, part German, because as Bishop of Strasburg his diocese extended into Germany; Gerdil, a Savoyard; and Franckenberg, not a bishop in France. He wished four of the new bishops made cardinals, and also Alphonse Hubert de Latier de Bayanne, then auditor of the Rota at Rome for France. He rested his claim mainly on the fact that for fifteen years no cardinal had been created at the instance of the French government.

Pius VII could not, however, act in this matter in the manner which Bonaparte supposed. On the 22d of July, 1802, Cardinal Consalvi addressed a circular note to Vienna, Madrid, and Lisbon, explaining in becoming terms the wishes of the First Consul, the grounds on which he based them, and the necessity of the step to an entire restoration of Catholicism in France. He accordingly asked them to suspend nominations due them for the present, agreeing to restore those courts to their full privileges at the earliest vacancies.

Without awaiting their replies, the pope resolved to grant the hats to France; but Bonaparte's impatience was such that, on the 6th Thermidor (28th of July), he wrote again, asking three cardinals at once, and two more at the earliest vacancies.

Austria declined to waive its rights. Spain, more courteously, declined to present any candidate for the cardinalate at that time. Portugal frankly and cordially gave consent to the extraordinary nominations made for the good of religion in France.

Cardinals having so long been unknown in France as part of the Church in that country, the Holy See was anxious that all the usual forms should be observed. There was accordingly transmitted a document entitled "Regulation for the Promotion of Cardinals not Resident at Rome."

On the 22d of September, 1802, the First Consul restored to the pontifical government the city of Pesaro, which was not one of those given up by the treaty of Tolentino. The pope experienced no little satisfaction on resuming possession of the city, and he moderated the ardor of those who consequently conceived vaster hopes.

Before preconizing the new cardinals, Pius VII had created two of his own motion for important services. These were Cardinals di Pietro and Caselli. And on the 2d of October, 1802, the pope was afflicted by the death of Cardinal Luchi, a Benedictine, and a dear and early friend.

The style of the First Consul found imitators. The petty republic of Lucca, if it is necessary to preserve its history here, wished the papal permission to sell certain ecclesiastical goods, and as their envoy at Rome, Moncarelli, did not succeed rapidly enough to enable them to borrow money in advance, they wrote sharply; but Cacault, the French minister at Rome, justly rebuked them.

It was not Bonaparte's policy that the Holy Father should be treated with any want of respect. His brusque, military appreciation of him showed his real feeling. He sought to environ the sovereign pontiff with respect and esteem, and although he doubtless sought to use the papal influence for his own aggrandizement, he would not see that power abased by powers that he despised.

Marks of respect constantly appeared. Thus, in 1802, Monsignor Cornaro, who had been struck at Venice by the

shining virtues of Pius, and whose admiration had constantly increased, by his will left his palace at Venice and all his paintings to the pope.

The court of Vienna at this time sent as minister the Count of Khevenhüller. The Count of Souza, ambassador of Portugal, then made a gala entry, and solicited a private audience from the pope, in which, by order of his court, he displayed great magnificence.

The First Consul sent as a present to His Holiness two brigs of war, intended to protect his trade. They were called the Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and were taken to Civita Vecchia by Commandant Dornaldegny. Pius VII admitted the crews of both vessels to a private audience.

On the elevation of Monsignor de Bayanne to the cardinalate, the First Consul proposed as his successor in the Rota Joachim Xavier d'Isoard, a native of Aix, and belonging to a family always friendly with Bonaparte.

On the 17th of January, 1803, Pius VII preconized the cardinals whose nomination was announced. In his allocution to the Sacred College His Holiness said:

"As formerly, pursuant to the concord as concluded between Leo X, our predecessor of happy memory, and Francis I, King of France, that wise pontiff extraordinarily placed certain distinguished subjects of that nation in the body of cardinals, we have decided to follow the example. Therefore we have appointed cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Joseph Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons; John of God Raymond de Boisgelin, Archbishop of Tours; Stephen Hubert Cambacérès, Archbishop of Rouen; for just reasons, we reserve in petto a fourth, equally worthy of these honors [i.e., Monsignor Bernier]."

At the same time there were promoted Peter Anthony Zorzi, a Venetian, of the order of Regular Clerks of So-

mascho, Archbishop of Udine; Francis Mary Locatelli, Bishop of Spoleto; John Castiglioni, of the Hospital order of the Holy Ghost; Charles Erskine, an Englishman; Colloredo, Bishop of Olmütz; Gregory Cadello, Archbishop of Cagliari; and John Baptist de Belloy, Archbishop of Paris.

Monsignor George Doria was deputed ablegate to bear the birettas to the cardinals in France; and the pope, on the 22d of January, addressed a brief to the First Consul, and another to Josephine, commending the ablegate to her kindly consideration.

Meanwhile the exiled French bishops made a last appeal to the pope, in their "canonical and most respectful expostulations addressed to our Holy Father, Pius VII, Pope by Divine Providence, as to certain acts concerning the Church of France."

Germany had undergone and was still undergoing great changes. Princes, both Catholic and Protestant, solicited a reorganization of the hierarchy. That all might be done understandingly and in a way to insure the greatest good of the Church, the pope appointed a nuncio to reside at Ratisbon, to hear all petitions, and report to the Holy See the wants of the faithful, and the interests of the governments. He also solicited the aid of Bonaparte in this great work.

The First Consul now recalled M. Cacault, so long ambassador at Rome, and confided the mission to his uncle Cardinal Fesch. He styled him ambassador, but the court of Rome, adhering to its usages, insisted that cardinals were never ambassadors, they were ministers plenipotentiary. Leo X had laid it down distinctly: "The ambassadors of princes being created cardinals cease to be ambassadors, because they are mystical members of the sovereign pontiff."

The Elector of Bavaria wished to determine, in concert with Pius VII, the number of bishops necessary for the

Catholic worship, and to fix the limits of each diocese. He asked, as an absolute condition, that the investiture with the temporality should each time be made in his name and by his authority, and every new bishop should take an oath of fidelity before the supreme administration of the province where his cathedral was situated.

The elector asked an archbishop resident at Munich, with suffragan bishops at Augsburg, Würzburg, Passau, and Bamberg. The jurisdiction which the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Ratisbon exercised in the electoral provinces to be united to these new dioceses, and divided between them in the geographical proportion most convenient and advantageous to the good of the Church. Ecclesiastical causes to be carried in the first instance to the bishop's tribunal; in the second, before the metropolitan; the Holy See to take cognizance only on appeal from the metropolitan. His Holiness to give his sanction to the project of a new liturgy, conforming in all points to that of Rome.

A new difficulty arose in 1804 in regard to a M. de Vernègues, a Frenchman attached to a Russian embassy, but actively engaged in plots against the French republic. As he was in the States of the pope, Bonaparte, who had just caused the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien on foreign territory, demanded from the pope his arrest and surrender. The pope protested, and Russia put forth her claims; but Bonaparte refused to recognize the right of a foreign power to adopt French subjects and cover them with the ægis of its protection while out of the territorial limits of the adopting country and actually engaged in political intrigues near the French frontier.

The next step was now to be taken in France. The folly of the Jansenist clergy and parliamentary malcontents had resulted in the anarchy of the Reign of Terror, which swept

away all the ancient monuments, forms, and ideas of the State. From amid the wreck arose one dominant intellect. General of a feeble Directory, he became, as First Consul, virtually ruler of France and arbiter of Europe; but the affectation of Roman republicanism ill suited a mind of colossal ambition, of gigantic views. Europe, in its complacency, courted the successful soldier. England, in the negotiations at Amiens, had proffered to him the crown in exchange for humiliating concessions. But they little knew the man.

Bonaparte, born a Catholic, and a Catholic by early education, had been indeed perverted by the irreligion of the day. Yet when not blinded by the tyranny of his character, he recognized the power of the Church for the well-being of nations, a power which no other can supply. He restored Catholicism. He entered into relations with the sovereign pontiff, though in a subordinate capacity he had contributed to the sufferings and death of the last sovereign pontiff. He was surrounded by men less far-seeing and judicious than himself, and his impetuous dragoon disposition fretted at delays, at all that did not move with the celerity of his military operations. Hence his tone towards Pius VII often lacked not only the respect due the head of the Church, but that very outward respect which alone could secure the sovereign pontiff the veneration of less powerful potentates.

Now, it was not a kingly power that he desired. He would be emperor, and, like Charlemagne, receive the crown from the successor of Saint Peter, investing his new dynasty with a prestige that the house of Capet never possessed.

His supple Senate prepared to declare him Emperor of France; but, without awaiting their action, he had, through Cardinal Caprara, invited His Holiness to come to Paris to consecrate and crown him. It was now evident that Cardi-

nal Fesch had been sent to Rome only to be the manager of this project, and that new members of the Sacred College, after confidential steps, prepared to make a decisive demand.

Pius VII was not a little embarrassed at the question. To recognize a government de facto involved no question of right. But the step now required would seem to invest the new dynasty with all the moral influence that religion could bring. For no such use had the primacy of Peter been established.

The wise and sagacious minister who so ably managed the affairs of the papacy, Consalvi, soon saw that Pius VII was now borne on by an impetuous torrent; that the interests of religion were no longer concerned; that Rome must now renounce the royal family of France without a regret, and prepare for the tempest, and perhaps the shipwreck, that menaced.

Cardinal Consalvi consulted twenty of the most influential members of the Sacred College, under the seal of confession, on two points: (1) The question pure and simple; (2) The scruples of the Holy Father manifested on reading the oath prescribed by the minister in regard to worship.

The replies were given in writing. On the first question five votes were absolutely negative and invincible; fifteen were affirmative, with conditions regarding rather the place of the ceremony than the consecration itself. Of these opposing cardinals, two declared the Emperor of the French illegally and illegitimately elected, and that His Holiness should not confirm such an election by his consecration. They distinguished between a legitimate monarch and one de facto, relying on the constitution of Clement V in the General Council of Vienne, where it was laid down that the title given by a pope to any prince, whether emperor or king, or whatever other, of itself conferred no right. That the

pope might, therefore, treat with the First Consul, and even recognize him as emperor, but not consecrate or crown him, inasmuch as the prayers recited over him would establish and canonize a usurped and illegitimate authority.

Five cardinals held that the consecration and coronation of the emperor by the sovereign pontiff would be an approval of all his acts, even of the organic articles and other objectionable steps, as well as his continued upholding of the constitutionals in their rebellion against the Holy See. Some cardinals added that he sapped the Church in Germany by secularization. Another, after comparing him with Charlemagne, advised the Holy Father to defer the ceremony till the emperor showed himself worthy of it by restoring to the Church at least its spiritual rights. The new emperor, who gave others crowns and kingdoms, did not evince a disposition to restore to the Church half its patrimony wrested from it when he was a subaltern.

They represented, moreover, the danger to which the pope would expose the Holy See by drawing down on it the hostility of the sovereigns of Europe, especially of those of the houses of Austria and Bourbon. They added that Pius VI had, to avoid doing any wrong to the Emperor of the West, declined to recognize the czar as emperor till he was requested by Joseph II.

Almost all the cardinals dwelt on the certain jealousy that would be excited in other sovereigns by this undue partiality manifested by the Holy Father. As common Father of the faithful, he should carefully maintain such relations with all as would exclude all appearance of partiality.

Six cardinals feared that he would compromise the dignity of head of the Church, in case he proceeded to France for a mere human affair, unexampled since the origin of the Church. He should imitate Clement VII, who

would consecrate Charles V only at Bologna. The ceremony might be deferred till the emperor should cross the Alps to visit his Italian States.

Six others expressed a fear of the scandal to be given by the presence of His Holiness in France, unless the emperor would remedy the abuses of discipline introduced by the organic laws, to which the silence of His Holiness would seem to give consent.

Four other cardinals objected the probability of his being brought in contact with constitutional bishops who had disavowed the very submission by which they had obtained their sees.

There were other difficulties also. He would be brought into relations with persons whose life was a scandal to religion. The censure passed by the French court on Pius VI, for visiting Vienna on grave and religious questions, seemed to decide against a visit to Paris for a purely political act, unless it was understood that some great concession to religion, the suppression of the organic articles in France and Italy, and the settlement of long-pending matters, followed.

Others saw a difficulty in the isolated condition of the pope at Paris, in case, while unable to consult the Sacred College, the new emperor, with his characteristic impulsiveness and impetuosity, sought to obtain concessions derogatory to the interests of the Holy See. Fears were entertained as to health, and some even dwelt on the total disregard of Roman etiquette that would surely take place at Paris.

The case of other sovereigns who might, taking this as a precedent, call upon the sovereign pontiff to visit their capitals and crown them, seemed one of actual importance, in taking a step so unusual and, to all appearance, unnecessary.

Still, the position of the pope was such—his very exis-

tence in Rome, so dependent on the will of Napoleon—that he resolved to accept the invitation. But he made conditions. The emperor was to invite him not only to perform the act of consecration, but also to treat the great religious questions, assuring him of a full and entire examination; the rebellious bishops were to be brought to submission or removed; the concordat with the Italian republic was to be executed without the organic laws or the decrees of Moreau de Saint-Méry, who had revived laws condemned by Clement XIII; the pontifical was to be observed in the ceremonial, as it would be dishonoring for the Holy Father if this were to be changed. His Holiness would receive alike all bishops, except such as openly resisted his allocution, or the attestation of the Bishop of Orléans, or the decree of canonical institution given by Cardinal Caprara, or who had, since then, manifested a want of respect for the decisions of the Holy See in regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of France.

The Holy Father would not receive Madame Talleyrand, or in any way recognize a marriage so scandalous.

The pope would proceed to Paris at such time as His Majesty should desire, provided it was deferred to the autumn, and time given him to travel slowly and only by day, in order to gratify the piety of the faithful, and arrange with various States on the way religious affairs which were already under negotiation. He would thus require three months for preparation.

The oath which the Senate prescribed to be taken also gave rise to discussions. Five of the twenty cardinals accepted the oath, but the rest objected to two articles as irreligious, shocking pious ears, throwing suspicion on the piety of the monarch who took it, to such an extent as to prevent His Holiness from crowning or consecrating such monarch.

To this Cardinal Fesch replied: "The promise to respect

liberty of worship, and cause it to be respected, is only the mode of carrying out civil toleration. It does not import religious and theological tolerance, which is the interior act of approbation and canonization of other sects. The proof is derived from the condition of the one who takes the oath. The Senate is perfectly conscious that the emperor who is to take the oath is a Catholic. The Senate, which obliges him to swear to the concordat which is his profession of faith, does not seek to bind him to a respect including theological tolerance, which would destroy that very faith, and consequently it requires only protection of civil tolerance."

Cardinal Fesch concluded by asking permission to declare that it was to be deemed as obliging the emperor simply to permit the free exercise of religions authorized in the State, and enforce respect to such liberty.

These new negotiations between France and the Holy See called forth a new address from the exiled French bishops to Pius VII, maintaining the right of Louis XVIII.

Russia, too, showed its not unjust indignation at the apparent subserviency of the Holy See to the new ruler of France; but neither then nor since have the great powers of the world concerted any simple means for preventing the Holy Father from being free from the violence of a powerful neighbor. From the time of the entrance of Bonaparte into Italy, the pope was at Rome by French sufferance, and a prisoner at French option.

The arrest of Vernègues was not viewed with indifference at Saint Petersburg. Monsignor Arezzo, nuncio of His Holiness, was ordered to leave the capital within a week, and all that he could obtain was permission to depart on congé, as though by order of his government.

Meanwhile, at Paris, a reply was prepared to meet the objections and conditions of Pius VII. After recapitulating

the services which the emperor had rendered to the Church, it proceeded to meet the objections: "Liberty of worships is absolutely distinct from their essence and constitution. The object of the former is the individuals who profess the religion of the latter, the principles and doctrine constituting it. To maintain the one is not to approve the other. Charles V, in the Diet of Spires, authorized the liberty of Lutheran worship in Germany till the general council, not yet convoked; and Clement VII never made this an objection, but crowned him on the 24th of February in the following year."

At the close of his note, Talleyrand declared that all ecclesiastical and temporal affairs whatever would be treated at Paris by mutual accord between His Holiness and His Majesty. The pope could profit by the early autumn weather to set out. His Holiness's visit is ardently desired. The blessings of the people will accompany His Holiness. Such were the outwardly respectful but cautious terms in which the solid and grounded objections were met.

On the 2d of August the pope congratulated Napoleon on his accession to the imperial throne. This brief closes with the following words:

"We have only to beseech, conjure, and exhort you in the Lord, now that by God's providence you have reached that high degree of power and honor, to protect the things of God, to defend his Church, which is one and holy, and to use all your zeal to remove therefrom whatsoever may injure the purity, preservation, beauty, and liberty of the Catholic Church. You have already made us conceive great hopes; we confidently expect that you will realize them as Emperor of the French. We grant with our whole heart to Your Imperial Majesty, your august spouse, and all your family, our apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, under the ring of the fisherman, the 2d of August," etc.

On the following day Napoleon wrote two letters to the Holy Father in regard to Russia and the affairs of the Italian republic. One of these bore the republican date, the other resumed the Christian era and the old style of months. But while the pope had consented to the journey to Paris, he had not decided absolutely to go. Cardinal Fesch kept pressing for a positive promise. He had conferences of two, three, and four hours with Cardinal Consalvi. Every day new difficulties arose. At last the pontifical government declared that the pope awaited only the letter of invitation containing assurances of clearly expressed good will in regard to the affairs of religion.

The emperor then brought himself to write this letter:

"Most Holy Father:

"The happy effect experienced in the morals and character of my people by the restoration of the Christian religion, induces me to beg Your Holiness to give me a new proof of the interest you take in my destiny, and that of this great nation, in one of the most important junctures presented in the annals of the world. I beg you to come and give, in the most eminent degree, the stamp of religion to the ceremony of the consecration and coronation of the first Emperor of the French. This ceremony will acquire a new lustre when it is performed by Your Holiness in person. It will draw upon us and our peoples the blessing of God, whose decrees regulate at his will the destiny of nations and families.

"Your Holiness knows the affectionate sentiments which I have long borne you, and may thence judge of the pleasure that this new juncture will afford me of giving you new proof.

"Therefore, we pray God to preserve you, Most Holy Father, long years to rule and direct our Holy Mother Church.

"Your devout son,

"Napoleon.

"Written at Cologne, September 15, 1804."

The pope had asked that the letter be sent by two bishops. Napoleon sent it by General Caffarelli, a man of mild and pleasing manners, whom the pope received cordially.

On the 29th of October the pope assembled a consistory, and addressed an allocution to the cardinals, announcing his journey, the purity of his motives in undertaking it, the precedent given by Pius VI. He then stated that he had arranged matters as prudence required, to the end that the tribunals, the administration of affairs, and the interests of the Holy See should not suffer in his absence. The pope then stated that the emperor showed every inclination to increase the advantages of the Church.

On the 1st of November he issued the documents investing Cardinal Consalvi with power to direct politically all the affairs of Rome. At half-past seven on the morning of the 2d of November, the Holy Father proceeded to Saint Peter's and heard Mass, spending a long time in prayer. At nine he began his journey by the Angelica Gate. The people lined the avenue for nearly three miles, giving tokens of the most touching respect. Cardinal Antonelli, one of those appointed to accompany His Holiness, was moved to tears.

On the 3d the pope arrived at Radicofani, where Cardinal Maury met and congratulated him. They conversed together for a considerable time, and Cardinal Maury asked the pope to go some day, without notifying any one, to the Carmelite church at Paris, and say Mass where so many

priests had perished. The pope was, however, unable to carry out this great reparation.

At Radicofani the whole cortège, which had started at different hours, met. It included Cardinals Antonelli, Borgia, di Pietro, Caselli, Braschi, and de Bayanne. Cardinal Fesch was present as minister of France, and did all in his power to lighten the fatigue of the pope's progress.

The prelates in the suite of Pius were Monsignor Bertazzoli, almoner to the pope; Menochio, sacristan; Fenaia, vicegerent; Devoti, secretary of briefs to princes. As a matter of necessity, the pope took Monsignor Gavotti, majordomo, and Monsignor Altieri, acting chamber-master. Among other prelates were Testa, secretary of Latin letters; Mancurti; Father Fontana, secretary of the Propaganda; Zucché, Sperone, etc. The laity were represented by Duke Braschi, one of the negotiators at Tolentino, Prince Altieri, and the Marquis Sacchetti, quartermaster for the journey.

Cardinal Consalvi had attached a branch of the secretariate to the suite, comprising Monsignori Mauri, Menicucci, etc. A physician and surgeon, with fifteen other attendants, completed the suite.

At Florence the pious Queen of Etruria gave the pope the most respectful welcome. She had prepared sumptuous apartments, and was the first to ask the Holy Father's benediction.

There an important question arose. An epidemic from Malaga had broken out at Leghorn, and it was proposed to establish sanitary cordons that would have interrupted, perhaps defeated, the pope's further progress. But Pius VII was not to be diverted. He proceeded to Modena by way of Pistoja, and thence to Turin. Here he was met by Cardinal Cambacérès, Senator Amboville, and Salmatoris, master of ceremonies, despatched by Napoleon to present the homage

of his filial devotedness. At Turin Pius VII replied to Napoleon's letter on the 13th of November, and again addressed him from Cosne on the 23d of that month.

On the 25th the Holy Father reached Fontainebleau about noon, much exhausted, having sometimes travelled nearly sixty miles a day.

There was a new bridge at Nemours, over which they desired the pope to be the first to pass; but he was taken over at midnight, which was not, says the Bishop of Orléans, very gracious.

The Emperor Napoleon, who had gone out on horseback hunting, being notified of the approach of the pope, met His Holiness at the Cross of Saint Hérem. Six of His Majesty's carriages then approached; the emperor entered the first, according to the Italian code of politeness, to sit at the left and place His Holiness on the right, and they entered the château amid a double line of troops and the salvos of artillery. By a singular combination, the soldiers preceding the cortège were Mamelukes. His Eminence Cardinal Caprara and the great officers of the household received the pope and emperor at the foot of the staircase. Joy irradiated the countenance of Napoleon, and the calm features of the pope expressed a satisfaction clouded with some embarrassment. They went together up the gilded staircase to the apartment which was to separate their suites of rooms. There His Holiness, leaving the emperor, was accompanied by the grand chamberlain, grand marshal of the palace, and grand master of ceremonies, into the apartments prepared for him.

After resting a few moments, His Holiness went to pay a visit to the emperor; he was conducted to his cabinet by the great officers, and led back by the emperor to the drawing-room where they generally remained. The pope then saw the empress, and on his return expressed his satisfaction at

his reception and the sentiments which she manifested. After his return to his own apartments, the pope received the ministers and higher state officials. Fouché asked the Holy Father how he had found France. "Blessed be Heaven!" replied Pius VII, "we have crossed it amid a kneeling population. How far were we from believing such to be the state of France!"

At four o'clock the pope was notified that the emperor was about to call upon him. In fact, he was entering His Holiness's rooms. Matters passed as at the visit of the pope to the emperor. At each of these visits the pope and emperor remained alone together for half an hour or more. One of the suite of Pope Pius VII having expressed astonishment at his having consented to call upon the empress first, the Holy Father replied: "Let us do even that for France: if we are to have subjects of discord, let it not be for questions of etiquette. Etiquette is less stringent, you know, on journeys than at Rome."

The Holy Father reached Paris on the 28th of November. On the 30th a deputation of the Senate, consisting of twenty-five members, was presented to His Holiness, and Francis de Neufchâteau, the president, delivered an eloquent address. He was followed by De Fontanes, regarded as the purest French writer of his day. Before he began his address the pope complimented him, and then regarded him with that heavenly look which was so peculiar to him that the English painter Lawrence could not but make it breathe in his portrait of Pius VII. One extract from this address will suffice:

"France has beheld arising one of those extraordinary men sent at intervals to uphold the tottering State; while Rome beholds on the throne of Saint Peter the lustre of the apostolic virtues of the primitive ages. Their sweet authority is rec-

ognized by all hearts. Universal homage must follow a pontiff equally wise and pious, who knows both what must be left to the course of human affairs and what the interests of religion require. This august religion comes to consecrate with its presence the new destinies of the French empire, and assumes the same guise as in the age of Clovis and of Pepin. All changes around it. She alone changes not. She beholds the families of kings vanish like those of individuals; but on the ruins of crumbling thrones, and thrones that rise, she ever admires the manifestation of the eternal designs, and obeys them. Never had earth a more imposing spectacle. Never have nations received a more solemn lesson. We are no longer in the days when the ecclesiastical and civil powers were at war. Both join in repulsing these fatal doctrines that menaced Europe with a total subversion. May these yield forever to the double influence of religion and policy combined."

The pope's reply turned only on the last words, and he evidently blessed De Fontanes with the most religious feeling.

The scene changed. The same day a deputation of eighteen tribunes was presented to His Holiness. Some feared unfortunate allusions, but they were mistaken. The president, Fabre de l'Aude, pronounced a discourse calculated to produce, and really producing, on the mind of the Holy Father, a singularly agreeable impression. The orator, a man of merit, full of upright sentiments, portrayed in strains of eloquence the career of the sovereign pontiff whom he was addressing, both before his elevation to the throne and since his accession to the line of pontiffs.

"Your Holiness has reduced the expenses of all the apostolic palaces. Your table, maintenance, and personal expenses have been regulated like those of the most private

individual. You have justly deemed true greatness to be less in the pomp and glitter of a court than in the lustre of virtues and a wise and economic administration. Agriculture, commerce, the fine arts, resume their ancient splendor in the Roman States.

"The contributions exacted had been arbitrary, multiplied, and ill divided. These Your Holiness has replaced by a uniform and moderate system of real and personal taxes. . . . Premiums have been offered to those who form agricultural establishments and plantations. The Roman Campagna, long uncultivated and sterile, will soon be covered with woods, as in the time of Roman splendor. A law compels large landholders to put their lands under cultivation, or let out, at a moderate rent, those which they cannot or will not till. Finally, the drainage of the Pontine marshes, by restoring vast tracts to cultivation, will contribute to the salubrity of the climate, and increase the population of that part of the Roman States. To prosper, commerce requires to be unfettered from the treasury; it must be free as air. Your Holiness openly proclaims free trade. False and base coin, a source of discredit and immorality, has been replaced by genuine money. Manufactures of woollen and cotton have been established at Rome and Civita Vecchia. While carrying to excess your charity to the poor, reserving nothing for yourself or your family, Your Holiness, nevertheless, watches with special care that your liberality be ever usefully employed.

"The city of Rome, notwithstanding its losses, will continue to be the home of the arts. All the masterpieces, dispersed, but attainable, have been ransomed by you. The Arch of Septimius Severus is cleared, and the Capitoline Way found once more.

"Such are the benefits which have distinguished the paternal reign of Your Holiness down to the memorable day when you came in our midst, at the invitation of the hero whom Providence and our constitution places in the highest rank, to draw down the blessing of Heaven on a throne become the surest guarantee of peace."

Pius VII, deeply moved, replied with modesty that his measures had been directed by the zeal of his ministers, and that his projects had ever been directed towards the good and welfare of his subjects, to set a wise example to all.

The constitutional bishops, neither loved nor esteemed by any one, still sought to approach the emperor, and wished at any cost to be present at the consecration, without subscribing the conditions which the pope required.

On the very eve of the ceremony, in the evening of the 30th of November, the emperor read over hurriedly and handed to the Holy Father a declaration of Lecoz, Bishop of Besançon. The moment he was alone the pope read it, and finding that he had substituted for the expression "submission to his judgment in the ecclesiastical affairs of France" the words "in the canonical affairs of France," at once wrote to the emperor: "We know too well the malice of this change, and cannot accept it. We deem it right so to inform Your Majesty at once, as time presses, and no concession has yet been made by this small number of men, obstinately refractory. We know the piety and high wisdom of Your Majesty sufficiently to be assured that you will condescend to take steps that we shall not be compromised, and that nothing shall trouble or sully the august and holy function of to-morrow."

The victory of Pius VII over Napoleon was rapid and complete. The emperor manifested no little impatience at

being obliged to abandon his constitutional bishops, and felt conquered. He resolved, after the consecration, to crown himself.

At nine o'clock on the 2d of December His Holiness left the Tuileries to proceed to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and descended from his carriage at the vestibule of the great staircase constructed to lead up to the halls of the archbishop's palace.

He then made his entrance into the church. He was attired in a cope, with the tiara on his head, and between the two assistant cardinal-deacons, Braschi, nephew of Pius VI, and De Bayanne, who supported his cope on either side. Beside him was Cardinal Antonelli, assistant cardinal-bishop. Then came Cardinal Caselli, cardinal-deacon of the Gospel, in a dalmatic. In the nave before the emperor's throne on the right was Senator Cacault, so long ambassador at Rome, and on whom the eyes of the pontiff at once turned.

The pope, seated on his throne, said terce. At ten o'clock Napoleon and Josephine left the Tuileries. The ceremony soon began. When the pope asked Napoleon whether he promised to maintain peace in the Church of God, "Profiterisne," etc., Napoleon replied with an assured voice, "Profiteor."

At the moment of the ceremony of the consecration Napoleon and Josephine knelt at the foot of the altar on cushions. The ceremony ended, the pope recited the prayer in which he prays that the emperor may be the protector of widows and orphans, may destroy infidelity that hides away, and that which sows itself in its hatred of the Christian name. After the prayer, "The sceptre of thy empire is a sceptre of equity and justice," Napoleon ascended to the altar, took the crown, and placed it on his head. He then

took that of the empress, and bearing it to her, crowned her. She received the diadem kneeling. The imperial band executed the Te Deum, which, like the Mass, was composed by Paisiello. The orchestra was composed of five hundred musicians. The rest of the ceremony being completed, the imperial cortège at first, and then that of His Holiness, returned to the Tuileries.

The first tidings of the arrival of the pope at Paris were carried by a balloon, sent up the 25th Frimaire (December 16), at Paris, at seven o'clock, during a heavy rain. The storm carried it off towards Dauphiny. It was seen next day over Embrun, and then a strong wind suddenly drove it towards the Mediterranean. The same day it was thrown on the coast of the Roman Campagna, then driven over Lake Bracciano, where it fell.

At this epoch the cardinals who had remained at Rome wrote letters of felicitation to the emperor. Their example was followed by Cardinal Maury.

Some disorder was feared for a time, under pretext of ravages committed by brigands between Anagni and Ferentino, quite near Rome; but Monsignor Joachim Tosi, who had been appointed Bishop of Anagni on the 26th of March, succeeded, by his exhortations, in soon restoring all communications.

Letters from the bailli, Ruspoli, who had declined the grand mastership of Malta, excited alarm, although he admitted that the diplomatic corps generally did not share his fears, especially so long as Austria remained at peace. England he considered implacable, and Italy sure to be the scene of troubles. The Jesuits, who had been restored in Sicily in 1803, also announced the arrival of revolutionists from the south of France, who had been arrested and carried to the Morea.

Rome, excited by these reports and by the attitude of Russia, manifested in all ways a desire for the return of Pius VII.

Pius VII, who had continued at the Tuileries, in the pavilion of Flora, where rooms had been prepared corresponding exactly with those at Monte Cavallo, continued to give audience to the faithful. No person in his suite gave any ground of complaint. He sometimes received the emperor, and always showed him a worthy and affectionate good will. The Princess Hortense, wife of Prince Louis, having given birth to a son who was named Napoleon Louis, the emperor ordered an official notification to be conveyed to the Holy Father. The pope replied, felicitating the emperor on this new addition to his family, neither foreseeing that a future son of the same parents was ultimately to renew the glory of the family and name, and be the arbiter of Europe and the master of Italy as completely as his uncle, and, strangely enough, upheld by the constant alliance of England.

Pius VII, before setting out for Paris, had been urged by Francis II, Emperor of Germany, to do nothing in regard to the Germanic concordat while at the French capital; but the Italian concordat required the attention of Pius. Through Cardinal Fesch he earnestly sought that, in the new form to be given to the Italian republic, the decrees of Vice-President Melzi, against which His Holiness had protested, should not be left in vigor.

Early in February Rome experienced a disaster attended with heavy loss. The Tiber overflowed its banks on the night of the last day of January. These inundations are usually ascribed by natural philosophers to the southwest wind blowing violently in the direction of the mouth between Torre Clementina and Torre San Michele, and thus preventing the waters of the river from finding their way to the sea. But although it is only thirteen or fourteen Italian miles

from Rome to Porto, the course of the river is so winding that it is not easy to admit this explanation. The heavy rains on the Apennines afford a much better explanation. In one single night the Ripetta quarter was covered with water, and the Campagna opposite seemed another river. The Tiber swept down trees, implements, horses and cattle surprised in the field. Orso Street was entirely submerged. Women, children, the aged, had no time to fly; those who lived in lower stories could only run to the roof, still above water. The wretched people filled the air with cries. They were destitute of bread and of all kinds of provisions. You could hear only: "Barcarolo, a noi, pieta, pane." Cardinal Consalvi, after ordering the bakers to prepare an extraordinary supply of bread, hastened to the spot, and, taking a boat, went himself in his cardinal's dress to carry bread to the people on Orso Street, and his example was soon imitated by other Romans.

The southwest wind ceased; but the city was in water up to the Corso, and on the road to Ponte Molle. Zeal redoubled its efforts to relieve the people blockaded by water. The Borghese family showed equal energy and devotedness. It was necessary, also, to carry provisions to over a thousand contadini, cut off by water in the villas around Rome. Ecclesiastics and laymen hastened to their relief.

On the 2d of February, at five in the evening, the water for the first time began to fall. Cries of joy and hope resounded; but the retiring waters left a deposit of black, unhealthy mud, which had to be removed. This was speedily done by the energy of Cardinal Consalvi, and the houses destroyed or injured by the water restored.

Pius VII was deeply afflicted on hearing of this sad visitation to his city. He now thought of his departure. His household, according to his plan laid before Cardinal Ca-

prara, would move in four divisions: the first on the 9th of March, the second on the 12th, the third, in which His Holiness travelled, on the 15th, and the fourth on the 18th.

Napoleon had several times asked the pope to hand him a memoir as to the demands which might interest the Holy See. Then His Holiness consulted some of the cardinals who attended him. Cardinal Borgia, a man of great prudence and moderation, had died at Lyons, and those now around the pope were not as discreet. A memoir was somewhat hastily drawn up, and delivered by the pope to Napoleon. The emperor referred it to Portalis. This was, however, recalled, and another memoir drawn up which would avoid long and useless discussions as to Gallican liberties. The contest begun under Louis XIV could not be revived and settled at once, and more vital questions were of actual importance. Portalis, relying, though it is scarcely possible to understand it in a high minister of state, on D'Alembert, drew up an answer to the memoir and submitted it to Napoleon. The philosopher, in his hatred of religion, spoke of Louis XIV being driven by his confessor, in his last days, to write to Clement XI, promising to make his bishops retract their solemn sanction to the four propositions. D'Alembert is full of insinuations and abuse. Father Letellier, the confessor of Louis XIV, is, in his eyes, an impostor; his counsels perfidious and punishable. Yet the high ministers of state took all this as history, and Napoleon made a great point of it.

Even on the history of the Church of France as presented by a D'Alembert, Napoleon met Pius VII. Armed with these falsehoods, Napoleon came one day into conference with Pius VII. That day, having been obliged to abridge his visit, he contented himself with saying to the Holy Father: "You see your Clement XI. You see what he did

to Louis XIV in the end of his days. Your Clement XI was an adroit man; he gained the king's confessor; but it is not so now." The pope suspected that Napoleon confounded distinct epochs; and after the close of the interview he studied the matter thoroughly. He had laid before him a copy of the letter written by the king, in 1693, to Innocent XII, under the confessorate of Father La Chaise, as well as a copy of the letter written by the king, in 1713, to Cardinal de la Trémouille; he sent for the anecdotes of Montesquieu and Count Guasco, and the judgments of D'Alembert.

Those who drew up Cardinal Caprara's notes on the organic laws explained more truly the real state of the question; and when the emperor returned to resume the interrupted accusation, Pius VII alone knew the true state of the case, and Napoleon could attack only with false and unsupported accusations. The emperor liked the phrase, "Your Clement XI"; he repeated it, gesticulating with warmth, but without anger; he stretched out his hand frequently, touching the Holy Father on the breast, and saying incessantly: "What have you to say in reply? What power have they not to overwhelm an old man, a king worried, weary, who had made war too long, whose misfortunes had doubtless already clouded his reason?" We must let Pius VII here himself state what he felt. He thus relates what occurred: "We had remarked that the emperor kept saying the same things over and over again. He did not leave 1713 and Father Letellier; and yet in all that he said he referred to 1693 and Father La Chaise. To all his 'Your Clement XI' we were much disposed to reply, 'Your Louis XIV nevertheless wrote this at another time'; but we could not inflate Napoleon, which a minister of religion should avoid, nor mortify him, which charity forbids. With the perspicacity which we know he possesses, we need but to have said two

words to enable him to seize the dates, the truth, the confusion of facts, and then he would have gone off in anger. M. Portalis had detailed all these reasons verbally to Cardinal Antonelli, and he was the one who gave such information to the emperor. Napoleon, on being corrected, would have been indignant; he would have overset everything in his way, summoned Portalis, and treated him roughly; and we esteem M. Portalis, as he received the bishops honorably. M. Portalis said: 'The bishop who lives well in unity is a head in doctrine and conduct for his diocese.' We highly esteem a man who speaks thus of bishops, and we confined ourselves to remarking with some firmness: 'You are mistaken, it is not so,' but the emperor would never understand our forbearance."

Nevertheless, Napoleon, without understanding the motives of the pope's resistance, was struck with the dignity and mildness of his words, that kind of tender counsel expressed in his eyes, the polished obstinacy of his replies. On returning to his cabinet, he read the memoir attached to the report of M. Portalis, dated February 10, made some corrections, and ordered it to be drawn up in a milder form.

The pope's memoir comprised eleven articles. The following is a summary of each article, with the reply finally made:

"Your Holiness represents that the provisions of the civil code on marriage are not in harmony with the religious dogma of the indissolubility of marriage. He desires a change in French legislation on that point.

"The civil law cannot proscribe divorce in a country where denominations are tolerated that admit it. At all events, it would have been unwise suddenly to change a jurisprudence which fifteen years of revolution had naturalized in France, when the new civil code was formed. In general, civil laws

can have only a relative goodness. They should be adapted to the position in which a nation is. Time must perfect them. It belongs to religious laws only to recommend the absolute good which is in its nature immutable. But that the conduct of the Catholic ministers shall never be in contradiction to the dogmas which they profess, His Majesty has declared, by the organ of his minister of worship, in a circular letter of 19th Prairial, year X (June 8, 1802), that the ministers of the Catholic worship are free to refuse the nuptial benediction to parties remarrying after a divorce, before the first marriage is dissolved by the death of one of the partners. He has declared such a refusal, on the part of the ministers of the Catholic worship, to be no matter of appeal to the Council of State.

"The second article treats of preserving to the bishops the natural inspection which they, of right, have over the manners and conduct of the clergy subject to their care.

"The French laws are far from attributing to the civil authority the essential rights the exercise of which belongs only to the episcopal authority. The secular authority must incontestably know the faults of ecclesiastics, when these offences violate the laws which bind every citizen; for a man does not cease to be a citizen on becoming a priest. He consequently continues to be subject to the laws and authority to which every citizen owes submission and obedience; but as to purely ecclesiastical offences, such as solely concern discipline and are susceptible only of the penalties laid down in the canons, it is admitted that the bishops are the natural judges of these offences, and that the secular authority can take cognizance of them, according to our national maxims, only in case of abuse. Thus, on many occasions, ecclesiastics have been remitted, by express orders of His Majesty, to the pastoral censure of bishops, when these ecclesiastics have

been denounced for facts relative to offences which might wound the duties and dignity of the priesthood. If there exist unwonted enterprises on the part of some, it is because all men are not wise enough to shut themselves within the precise terms of their attribution. His Majesty will ever watch carefully that these enterprises shall be prevented or suppressed."

The third article of the pope's demands related to affording the Catholic clergy means of existing with decency, and perpetuating their order or religion, which cannot subsist without ministers. The long-detailed reply expresses, with extreme delicacy and a tone of absolute devotion, all that had been eagerly done in the matter.

"Article 4. Your Holiness would desire the renewal of the ancient laws on the celebration of Sundays and holidays. His Majesty perceives in this desire the sentiments of piety and the views of order which inspire Your Holiness. Experience proves that in large cities all the moments withdrawn from labor are given to vice or crime. The essential point is that public functionaries and enlightened citizens should set an example to the multitude. By the present laws all exterior and public labor is forbidden to functionaries of all kinds. It suffices to notify the public administrations not to have any public or servile work done on Sundays or holidays, except in urgent cases admitting of no delay."

By the fifth article the pope asked that no married priest or religious should be employed in public education. The minister replies that it is His Majesty's intention that education shall never be confided to priests who are not in communion with their bishop. (This was not what the pope asked.) His Majesty does not mean that religious education shall be neglected in the lyceums. His Majesty will place bishops in the administrations directing the lyceums.

By the sixth article His Majesty promised to maintain religious peace, which should be the happy result of the reconciliation of the Holy Father with the constitutional priests.

"Article 7. His Majesty will restore to worship the temple of Saint Geneviève, patroness of Paris. As to the restoration of the congregations of priests, His Majesty reserves this important question to his mature examination. In the first year of a new ecclesiastical organization it is necessary that the clergy assume a certain consistency, before corporations are set up beside it, which may soon become stronger and more powerful than the clergy themselves. Nevertheless, His Majesty hastens to restore all the corporations known under the name of Sisters of Charity, or Hospital Sisters, consecrated by their institute to the service of the sick and the education of poor girls. He has, even, to give a special mark of his protection to establishments so useful to humanity, appointed Madame, mother of the emperor, protectress of these establishments."

The pope asked in the eighth article that the Catholic religion should be declared dominant. M. Portalis replied in the emperor's name that such a law would revive old hatreds and raise up new enemies to Catholicism.

Although the pope had then no correspondence with Ireland, that common Father of Christendom could not forget his devoted children in that island, cut off from him in a manner by war and troubles. He solicited in the ninth article the emperor's protection for the ancient establishments of the Irish. The union of all in one being possible, the government granted it full support; and, in fact, Napoleon did more than he promised the pope.

By the tenth article the Lazarists are recommended to the emperor. A decree restored them. A house, with a donation of fifteen thousand francs, was assured to them; they were

placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris. The Seminary of the Foreign Missions at Paris was also restored. They asked no dotation. The purchaser of their property bought them in only to secure them—a noble example amid so much impious cupidity. The Seminary of the Holy Ghost, near Orléans, was restored, with power to receive bequests and foundations.

"Article 11. His Majesty will replace by an equivalent revenue what the French government formerly paid in behalf of the Church of Saint John Lateran at Rome, on condition that His Majesty shall then enjoy the rights, prerogatives, and honors enjoyed by the former kings of France."

Here again Portalis was at fault. Henry IV had assigned to the Basilica of Saint John Lateran the abbey of Clairac in France, giving it an income of near twelve thousand dollars. In return, the chapter celebrated a solemn Mass annually, on the 13th of December, the anniversary of the birth of Henry. At the Revolution the abbey was seized and sold, and now the basilica asked compensation.

So much was here conceded that Pius VII rejoiced that he had not inconsiderately made any remark that would have brought M. Portalis into disgrace.

There remained now to be discussed between the sovereign pontiff and the emperor of the French only the question relative to the domains wrested from the Holy See. The cardinals present at Paris, and Cardinal Consalvi at Rome, saw that it would be impossible to obtain their restitution. Such a benefit was not in Napoleon's power. He had promised too much to his Italian republics. Yet Napoleon himself said earnestly to the pope that they must discuss and examine this great affair. Pius accordingly handed to the emperor the following memoir:

"The majesty of worship which becomes the first see of the

Catholic religion; the support of so many bishops and missionaries scattered over almost all parts of the world; the education of young men of all nations in the college of the Propaganda, at Rome, an establishment now closed for want of revenues, as are the special colleges of several nations; the support of many congregations and ministers necessary to expedite the business of the Universal Church; the allowance to the cardinals on whom rests the administration of the same Church; the outfit, salary, and correspondence of legates, nuncios, vicars apostolic at all courts and in foreign nations—to pass in silence, if necessary, many other offices, very burdensome and yet indispensable to the Holy Apostolic See, for the support whereof Divine Providence had endowed it, even in the most remote times, and anterior to its temporal sovereignty, with very great revenues and patrimonies, which it enjoyed not only at Rome but in distant countries—these employments and others inherent in the dignity of the sovereign pontiff are still the same, and have perhaps increased, while the means of supporting them has diminished and still daily diminishes. We need not lay before Your Majesty's eyes the losses incurred in the short term of a few years; it suffices to allude to them. Even before half the last century had elapsed, the Holy See had to content itself with protestations instead of the actual possession of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which had nevertheless devolved to the Holy See as of right, and belonged to it on the death of the last Duke Farnese. The National Assembly incorporated Avignon and the Comtat with France. The Directory of Paris occupied the three finest provinces of the Pontifical States—Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara. Add to these great losses that of the great possessions of the Mesola near Comacchio, bought a few years before by the apostolic chamber, as well as the loss of its fiefs of high domain in

Piedmont, for which the King of Sardinia, in his quality of pontifical vicar, paid the annual tribute of chalice, of the value of two thousand dollars; the stoppage of the annats and contributions from France and Germany, after the new order of things had been established in both empires. The annats and contributions were a revenue agreed upon with all nations, by solemn and reciprocal compacts, in compensation for the contributions which all the Catholic churches owe the first see. In fact, the Roman pontiffs, on the faith and solid guarantee of these compacts, have charged their treasury with a very heavy debt, which still remains undiminished, and which was nevertheless contracted in the first instance, to a great extent, in order to afford aid to the Catholic princes in the wars which they had to sustain against the infidels who attacked them on all sides. In fine, the extent of the incalculable and irremediable losses caused to the apostolic chamber and its finances and subjects by the Revolution that had just occurred.

"As it is for the general interest of Christianity that its head shall not lack means to fulfil the duties imposed on him for his own preservation, consequently for that of the primacy which Christ has given him, and whose utility is generally recognized, we cannot be indifferent to the loss of these means, nor neglect any step depending on our care to repair this loss so far as lies in us.

"It is even a precise and positive obligation in a guardian and administrator, as we are of the Patrimony of Saint Peter —a duty the more obligatory for us, as it is strengthened by the oath we took at the time of our elevation to the pontificate. We are still obliged, by the duties of strict justice, to pay the creditors of the pontifical treasury the interest of the immense capital, and at the same time meet the wants of the

subjects of the Roman Church, reduced to the greatest distress by past calamities.

"The discharge of our duties, the necessity of providing for so many urgent necessities, the succor due to so much misery, overwhelm our heart and constantly afflict our liberal and beneficent disposition. We therefore lay our solicitude on the bosom of Your Majesty, begging and conjuring you by that God, author of the Catholic faith, who has in so extraordinary a manner enriched you with his gifts, to repair as far as possible so many losses and injuries caused to the Holy See by a government which, thanks to your valor and merit, no longer exists.

"We might easily prove the want of any ground for the occupation of the Pontifical States by troops under the Directory; we might develop the political reasons which would show that, independently of there being no danger for France, it would also be useful for the equilibrium of Italy to restore his domains to a prince who has no other defensive arms than his temporal weakness and his spiritual dignity; but we shall put our trust in nothing, after God, but the generosity and greatness of your magnanimous heart.

"The sincere admirers of your glory love to trace a resemblance between the ancient founder and the present restorer of the empire of the French.

"May it then please Your Imperial Majesty, in order to perfect the parallel, to add here the imitation of the celebrated spontaneous act whereby Charlemagne restored to Saint Peter all that he had recovered, by his glorious arms, of the gift already made by his father, Pepin, but which had been invaded by the Lombards, whom he conquered; we mean the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, with the addition of other domains, and especially the duchy of Spoleto and Benevento.

"It will be another trait of imitation of the constant zeal which Charlemagne displayed in defending, and even extending on every occasion, the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, if Your Majesty, on every other occasion, and especially in the conjuncture when a congress for a general peace shall take place, will assure the Holy See his powerful protection, and obtain the admission of an envoy on its part—not to interfere in temporal negotiations, but to guarantee, by an efficient mediation, the rights and possession of the Holy Roman See."

This memoir was examined with great attention. It exposed so clearly the nature of the wrongs done the Holy See, and the justice of the claim for restitution made, that Napoleon felt the importance of the arguments, and directed a reply to be made in which it was easy to see that he refused because he had not the power to restore. In the face of his later conduct, the views of Napoleon cannot be without weight.

"Paris, March 11, 1805.

"The emperor has read with the most lively interest the memoir which contains the various statements of His Holiness as to the losses which the Holy See has sustained from the middle of the last century to the present day. The noble and pious reflections which the Holy Father expresses on this occasion have redoubled the emperor's veneration for him. The sentiments of confidence and affection which the Holy Father manifests for the emperor would increase, were that possible, his filial love and gratitude.

"The emperor has always thought it useful for religion that the sovereign pontiff should be respected not only as head of the Catholic Church, but also as an independent sovereign. The emperor will at all times regard it as a duty to guarantee the States of the Holy Father, and in wars that

may hereafter divide Christian States, obtain for him sure and complete tranquillity. The century just closed, and that which preceded it, have been detrimental to the temporal power of the Holy See. The spiritual power has received still more serious blows. God has permitted a great number of nations to venture successfully to burst all the bonds of obedience; and in those which have not been separated from it, many persons have eagerly listened to maxims tending to destroy every sentiment of religion, and even shake the bases of human morality. The disorder was increasing, and every form of misbelief in honor, when God, to accomplish his designs, raised up the emperor. He first, by the credit of his example, arrested the torrent of dominant opinions. He manifested without reserve his gratitude towards God, the author of his victories; and scarcely was he invested with supreme power before he opened the temples, raised up the altars: by his care thirty millions of Catholics have returned to their obedience to the visible head of the Church of Christ.

"The emperor returns thanks to God for being chosen to work so great a good. But he is far from believing that naught remains to do to maintain the happy results of that restoration. The empire of religion is restored, yet the opinions which, during the course of two centuries, had incessantly labored to sap its foundations, have preserved all their danger, all their strength. Against the attacks of such an enemy, power and wealth are no aid. Hatred and envy rose against the Holy See at the moment when it was environed with the greatest lustre and power. The goodness, piety, and noble disinterestedness of the sovereign pontiff now reigning, assure to the Holy Father more respect and submission than the most violent and powerful of his predecessors ever obtained.

"That the Holy Father may, for the edification and happi-

ness of the Christian States, exercise, with the moderation and dignity inherent in his character, the empire due to his virtues and title as supreme head of the Church, is the dearest wish of the emperor; and he will second, with all his power, the exercise of so holy and so salutary an influence. He would also, from personal consideration for the Holy Father, Pius VII, wish to be able to contribute to augment the advantages of his temporal existence, and he would desire that God would enable the occasion to arise; the emperor would seize it with pleasure. But it is not permitted to him to draw this result from the course of past events, which are in no man's power, in which he had no part, and which God permitted before the establishment of the throne on which he has raised the emperor. On investing him with the supreme power, God prescribed the measure. The emperor must respect the limit which God himself has traced, and he finds himself bound alike by the fundamental laws of the State and the sanctity of the solemn oath which he has taken.

"France has dearly purchased the power she enjoys. It is not in the emperor's power to cut off aught from an empire which is the price of ten years' bloody war, sustained with admirable courage, and the most unhappy agitations endured with unequalled constancy. Still less is it permitted to diminish the territory of a foreign State, which, confiding to him the care of governing it, imposes on him the duty of protecting it, and has given no right to diminish the territory which it possessed when the emperor assumed the control of its destinies."

Here there was in the draft of the reply an obliging expression of regard for the Holy Father, who was known to be influenced by no motive of interest; all were convinced that his pure soul was filled only with holy desires, and sentiments elevated above all human considerations. It was

hoped that His Holiness would be persuaded of the sensible regret with which the emperor found himself unable to second the pope's desires for the actual increase of the temporal power. The emperor found that these words expressed only a part of his sentiments, and that more must be said. He then dictated to Talleyrand the following paragraph, which that minister immediately wrote in his own hand. These words, worthy of special attention, will remain as indicating Napoleon's real feelings:

"If God grants us the common duration of human life, we hope to find circumstances where it will be permitted to us to consolidate and extend the domain of the Holy Father; and even now we can and will lend a helping hand to aid him to come forth from the chaos and difficulties into which the late war has plunged him, and thereby give the world a proof of our veneration for the Holy Father, our protection for the capital of Christendom, and, finally, of the constant desire that animates us to behold our religion yield to no other in the pomp of its ceremonies, the splendor of its temples, and all that can make it imposing to the nations; we have directed our uncle, the cardinal grand almoner, to explain to the Holy Father our intentions and what we mean to do."

After this addition the memoir ends thus: "Ever faithful to the plan which the emperor proposes from the first, he will make it his glory and happiness to be one of the firmest supporters of the Holy See, and one of the most sincere defenders of the prosperity of Christian nations. He wishes men to place in the first rank, among the actions which have thrown lustre over his life, the respect which he has always shown to the Church of Rome, and the success of the efforts which he has made to reconcile to it the heart and the faith of the first nation of the universe."

But will these sentiments last? Will there not always be found in Napoleon two distinct men, when religious questions are to be treated of? First, a just, prompt, facile spirit, asking counsel in a class of studies and polity which he has never explored, receiving with a good grace a salutary direction, and following it with all the force that characterizes a deep-seated conviction; and, again, a restless spirit, given up to a foolish pride of half-read erudition, envying the priest's mission, and deeming it a humiliation that the emperor is not in the interval of his battles the pontiff of the nation, as he has been the supreme regulator of military operations.

The cardinals and prelates of the pope's retinue shared sincerely in His Holiness's joy. Clear as the refusal was, no murmur was heard. The pope continued to visit the churches, to bless those who knelt before him and those who thought proper to refuse him that homage. He beheld at his feet with the same kindly eye De Lalande, no longer glorying in the name of atheist, and the pious matrons who had succored religion and its ministry in the misfortunes of the Church. Yet the pope was really a prisoner in France; at this very time not one week followed another without his asking permission to return to Rome. This permission was not to be granted till he had resisted the most bitter request that he could hear from the mouth of a Frenchman. Pope Pius VII would never give the name of the high French official who one day spoke to him of taking up his residence at Avignon, of accepting a papal palace at the archbishopric of Paris, and of having a privileged quarter established as at Constantinople, where the diplomatic body accredited to the pontifical authority would have the exclusive right of residence. The first words, insinuated rather than directly addressed, then repeated around to confidential persons, to Frenchmen friendly to the Holy See, gave all to suppose that

Napoleon wished to retain the pope in France. These words were not uttered by Napoleon, but such was his influence over opinions and words that they could not possibly have been hazarded without his permission. The corps diplomatique at Rome spoke of the matter. The pope deemed it proper to reply fully in the presence of the same high official who had broached the matter: "The report is that we may be detained in France. Well, let them deprive us of our liberty. All is provided for. Before leaving Rome, we signed a formal valid abdication, to take effect if we are thrown into prison. The act is beyond the power of the French; Cardinal Pignatelli holds it at Palermo, and as soon as the projects now devised are declared, you will have in your hands only a poor monk, by name Barnaba Chiaramonti."

That same evening orders for the departure of His Holiness were laid before the emperor, and they only awaited a suitable change of season and the time necessary to insure the relays with more exactness than had attended the pope's journey to Paris.

At Rome all the proceedings were watched, and the deepest anxiety prevailed. Cardinal Consalvi endeavored to divert the forebodings of the people. But Holy Week was to pass without the pope. The ceremonial was observed, but it could never be as solemn in the pope's absence. Nothing could replace the emotion experienced when the pope is seen entering, borne on the sedia gestatoria, and especially during the chant Ecce Sacerdos Magnus.

At the time of the pope's departure from Paris, Napoleon prepared to go to Milan, to be crowned King of Italy. Pius VII received a welcome at Châlon-sur-Saône, of which he afterwards spoke with emotion. At Lyons he was received by Cardinal Fesch, and no expense or exhortation

spared to make His Holiness's stay in the second city of the kingdom a pleasant one. He wrote to the emperor to express his gratification at the honors tendered to him by the local authorities and troops, as well as the proofs of devotion given by the people, "of which," says he, "we assure you that we shall preserve a lasting remembrance."

Meanwhile, every preparation was made at Rome to receive the pope. At Florence the Queen of Etruria gave him proofs of her constant piety. It was agreed, however, that at Rome the foreign legations should not go in a body to meet His Holiness.

Religious ceremonies succeeded each other from Florence to Viterbo. A notification announced that the pope would enter Rome on the 16th of May. Pursuant to his orders, the carriage in which he entered at the Ponte Molle drove to Saint Peter's. Then Pius VII returned thanks for his happy return. The cardinal of York, in spite of his eighty years, received the pope at the door of the basilica.

After the benediction Pius VII once more approached the altar to offer his last prayer before leaving. It seems that, while he knelt there, a kind of ecstasy came over him. The thought of being once more in the great temple of his capital, one hundred and eighty-five days after his sad departure; the recollection of the dangers through which he had passed, or which he supposed he might have encountered on the journey, so overcame him that he remained motionless at the foot of the altar. The ecstasy was prolonged; the church, which they had entered as day began to wane, and which none had thought of lighting up for an evening ceremony, began to grow obscure. More than thirty thousand persons remained amid that silence and coming gloom with a sense of oppression, unable to conceive the cause.

Cardinal Consalvi arose gently, approached the pope,

touched him on the arm, and asked him whether he felt any faintness. The pope clasped the cardinal's hand, thanked him, and told him that his lengthened prayer was an outpouring of his happiness and joy. The pope was then reconducted to his chair. He was greatly fatigued, and they insisted on his retiring without granting any audiences.

That evening there was a general illumination in the palaces of Rome, and the senator gave a magnificent reception in the Capitol, at which all the Roman nobility and the diplomatic corps were present.

Artaud, who was admitted to an audience on the following day, thus describes what passed: "The Holy Father spoke with warmth of what he had seen; he showed me, with a kind of satisfaction, the medals struck in his honor. He digressed every moment to mention new subjects. The establishment of the Sisters of Charity at Paris had excited his interest, and he thought of diffusing the order in Italy, Germany, and Ireland. He then returned to the motives which he had for congratulating himself on the journey. All at once his countenance became more serious. He collected himself for a moment, as if to speak of a grave matter; and he took my hand as though to fix my attention. I listened with great pleasure. 'We will tell you an event which will prove to you how far we should be pleased with your excellent people. We do not speak of the benediction at the Museum, at the end of December. It was especially on our return that we received unnumbered marks of love and respect.

" 'At Châlon-sur-Saône we were about leaving a house where we had passed several days, in order to take the road to Lyons. It was impossible to traverse the crowd. More than two thousand women, children, old men, boys, separated us from the carriage, which they could not bring any nearer. Two dragoons,' so His Holiness called the

gendarmes, 'appointed to escort us, led us on foot to our carriage, by making us walk close between their two horses. The dragoons seemed proud of the manœuvre and of having outwitted the people. On reaching the carriage, half smothered, we were about to leap in with all possible dexterity and address, for it was a battle where strategem was requisite, when a young girl, who was more than a match for ourselves and the two dragoons, glided under one of the horses, and seized our foot to kiss it; nor would she let it go, as she wished to pass it to her mother, who was coming by the same route. Ready to lose our balance, we laid our two hands on the dragoon whose face was least pious, begging him to hold us up. "Signor dragoon," said we, "take pity on us." On that the good soldier (so much for reading countenances), instead of taking our part in the difficulty, seized our hands to kiss them repeatedly. So that between the girl and the soldier we were hanging for half a quarter of a minute, claiming our own person, and moved to tears. Ah! we have been pleased with the people of France.' "

One of the first duties of the pope was to reply to Napoleon, who, ever seeking some advantage, now wished the Bishop of Orléans made papal nuncio at Ratisbon. A previous request had been made for the place of majordomo for one of the old French bishops. Without delicacy, Napoleon wished to put the pope entirely under French control. But Pius VII showed how irregular it would be to appoint one inexperienced in diplomacy, one who had never served in the Roman prelacy.

But a more serious trouble was in store. Jerome Bonaparte, a brother of the emperor, and a minor, had, while on a visit to the United States, on a French man-of-war, in which he was a midshipman, been attracted by Miss Patterson, of

Baltimore. After a brief courtship he asked her hand and was accepted. The marriage ceremony was performed on the twenty-fourth day of December, 1803, by the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore. On Jerome's return to France with his young wife, Napoleon's anger burst forth; he sent Mrs. Jerome Bonaparte back to America, and now sought to invalidate the marriage. On the 24th of May, Napoleon wrote to the pope:

"I have several times spoken to Your Holiness about a brother, nineteen years old, whom I sent on a frigate to America, and who, after a month's stay, married in Baltimore, although a minor, the Protestant daughter of an American merchant. He has just returned; he feels the extent of his fault. I have sent back Miss Patterson, his alleged wife, to America. According to our laws the marriage is null. A Spanish priest so far forgot his duty as to give the nuptial benediction.[1]

"I would like a bull from Your Holiness annulling this marriage. I send to Your Holiness several memoirs from which Your Holiness will receive much light. One of these memoirs is from Cardinal Consalvi. I can easily invalidate the marriage at Paris, the Gallican Church recognizing these unions as null. It seems better to me to have it decided at Rome, if only as an example to members of sovereign houses who shall contract marriage with Protestants. May Your Holiness dispose of this matter quietly. I will proceed to the civil decision only when I know Your Holiness is disposed to act.

"It is important for France itself that there should not be a Protestant girl so near me. It is dangerous that a minor

[1] The nuptial benediction, properly so called (i.e., as distinct from prayers used in the marriage ceremony), is not given in mixed marriages.

of nineteen, a distinguished youth, should be exposed to such seduction against the civil laws and all propriety."

A magnificent gold tiara, prepared in haste by the first goldsmiths of Paris, was sent to win the pontiff's favor. But the path of duty lay clear before the pope. He could not swerve for fear or favor. His reply will stand as a clear and distinct decision:

"Your Majesty must attribute the delay in the return of the courier solely to our desire of employing every means in our power to satisfy the requests contained in the letter, and memoirs annexed thereto, handed to us by the courier.

"So far as depends on us—namely, in order to preserve inviolable secrecy—we have made it a point of honor to satisfy Your Majesty's wishes most exactly. We have accordingly evoked to ourselves the examination of the petition touching the marriage in question.

"Amid a host of overwhelming affairs, we have taken all care and pains to draw information from all sources, to make the most careful research, and see whether our apostolic authority could furnish us any means of satisfying Your Majesty's desires, which from these motives it would have been most agreeable to us to gratify. But consider the question from any point whatever, there results from our examination that none of the motives proposed to us, no motive that we can imagine, permits us to content Your Majesty, as we would desire, by declaring said marriage null.

"The three memoirs transmitted to us by Your Majesty, being based on contradictory principles, destroy each other reciprocally.

"The first, setting aside all other invalidating impediments, maintains that only two can apply to the case in question—namely, the disparity of religion of the contracting parties, and the non-intervention of the parish priest on the celebra-

tion of the marriage. The second, rejecting these two impediments, deduces two others—from the want of the consent of the mother and kindred of the young man under age, and from the violence designated as seduction.

"The third does not agree with the second, and proposes, as the sole ground of the nullity, the want of consent of the parish priest, which it pretends to be necessary, inasmuch as he has not changed his domicile; because, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, the permission of the parish priest is absolutely necessary to a marriage.

"An analysis of these contrary opinions shows the impediments relied upon to be four in number; but on examining them separately it has been impossible to find one which in this case, according to the principles of the Church, can authorize us to declare the nullity of a marriage contracted and already consummated.

"In the first place, the disparity of religion, considered by the Church as an invalidating impediment, does not exist between two baptized persons, even though one is not in the Catholic communion. This impediment exists only in marriage contracted between a Catholic and an infidel. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants, although abhorred by the Church, are nevertheless recognized by her as valid.

"It is not exact to say that the law of France on the marriage of minors not emancipated and infants under age, contracted without the consent of parents and guardians, renders them null as to the sacrament. The lay legislative power itself declared, on the representation of the clergy, assembled in 1629, that by establishing the nullity of these marriages the legislators intended to speak only of the civil effects of the marriage, and that lay judges could give no other meaning or interpretation to the law; for Louis XIII,

author of that declaration, felt well that the secular power has no right to create invalidating impediments to marriage as a sacrament.

"In fact, the Church, far from declaring null, as to the bond, marriages contracted without the consent of parents and guardians, has, while censuring them, declared them valid at all times, and especially in the Council of Trent.

"In the third place, it is equally contrary to the maxims of the Church to deduce the nullity of the marriage from the violence or seduction. The impediment of violence exists only where marriage is contracted between the ravisher and the person carried off, before she is restored to entire liberty. Now as there was no ravishing in the case in question, what is designated in the memoir as 'ravishing, seduction,' signifies simply want of consent of the parent, from which is deduced the seduction of the minor, and it cannot consequently form an invalidating impediment to the bond of marriage.

"We next take up the fourth impediment, the clandestine nature of the marriage, or absence of the parish priest. This impediment comes from the Council of Trent; but this provision of the council prevails only in the countries where its famous decree, De reformatione matrimonii, has been published; and even in that case it has force only in regard to the persons for whom it has been published.

"Earnestly desiring to seek all means to lead us to the end we desired to attain, we have first taken all pains to ascertain whether the said decree of the Council of Trent has been published at Baltimore. For this purpose we have examined with the utmost secrecy the archives of the Propaganda and the Inquisition, where the report of such publication should be on file, but we have met with no trace of any; on the contrary, by other information, and especially by the perusal of

the decrees of the synod convoked by the present Bishop of Baltimore, we infer that the said publication has not been made. Moreover, it is not to be presumed that it has taken place in a country which has always been under Protestant rule.

"After this examination of the facts, we have considered, under all points of view, whether the absence of the parish priest could, according to the principles of ecclesiastical law, furnish ground of nullity; but we remain convinced that this motive of nullity does not exist.

"In fact, it does not exist in regard to the domicile of the husband. For even supposing that he retained his own domicile in the place where the form for marriage established by the Council of Trent is followed, it is an incontestable maxim that, for the validity of the marriage, it suffices to observe the laws of the domicile of one of the two spouses, especially when one of the two has fraudulently abandoned his domicile. Whence it follows that if they observe the laws of the domicile of the woman, where the marriage is performed, it is not necessary to conform to those of the domicile of the man, where the marriage was not contracted.

"Nor can there exist a ground of nullity in regard to the domicile of the wife, for the reason already alleged, namely, that the decree of the Council of Trent not having been published there, its provisions requiring the presence of the parish priest do not apply; and also for another reason, which is that, even though that publication had been made, it could have been made only in the Catholic parish churches, as there is question of a country originally Catholic; so that it is never competent to deduce the nullity of a mixed marriage, that is, the marriage of a Catholic and a heretic, with regard to whom the publication is not considered as made.

"This principle was established by a decree of our prede-

cessor Benedict XIV, on the subject of mixed marriages contracted in Holland and Confederate Belgium. The decree not establishing a new law, but being only, as its title states, a declaration—that is, a development of what these marriages are in reality—it is easy to see that the same principle must be applied to marriages contracted between a Catholic and a heretic, in a country subject to heretics, even though the said decree has been published among the Catholics existing in that country.

"We have laid this analysis before Your Majesty to show you under how many points of view we have endeavored to examine this affair, and how it grieves us to find no ground to authorize our passing a judgment nullifying the marriage. The very fact of its being celebrated before a Spanish bishop (or, as Your Majesty says, a priest), strongly attached, as all of that nation are, to the observance of the Council of Trent, is an additional reason for believing that this marriage has been contracted with the formalities requisite to a valid contract of marriage in that country. In fact, having had occasion to examine a Catholic synod held at Baltimore, we have still better seen this truth.

"Your Majesty must see that, on the information we have hitherto received of this fact, it is out of our power to pass the judgment of nullity. If, besides the circumstances already alleged, others exist from which proof might be deduced of any fact constituting an impediment capable of establishing the nullity, we might then support our judgment on this proof and pronounce a decree conformable to the rules of the Church, from which we cannot depart by pronouncing invalid a marriage which, according to the declaration of God, no human power can dissolve.

"Were we to usurp a power that we do not possess, we should render ourselves guilty of the most abominable abuse of our sacred ministry before the tribunal of God and before

the whole Church. Your Majesty even, in his justice, would not desire us to pronounce a judgment contrary to the testimony of our conscience and the invariable principles of the Church. Hence we earnestly hope that Your Majesty will be satisfied that the desire which animates us of seconding your wishes, as far as depends on us, especially in a case so closely connected with your august person and family, is in this case rendered ineffectual by want of power, and that you will accept this very declaration as a sincere testimony of our paternal affection."

On the 26th of June, the pope, in a consistory, gave an account of his journey to France, and he soon after, by the gentlemen who had attended on the part of the emperor, wrote to Napoleon. His refusal in the case of Jerome was, however, to be punished by decrees against discipline at Milan. Again Pius VII remonstrated, but Napoleon replied, justifying his conduct: "I have done all for the best. The Church gains considerable sums; the clergy is more at ease and free to act. The situation is really improved. I therefore beg Your Holiness to approve what I have done."

In reply, Pope Pius, after expressing his joy at the religious sentiments expressed by Napoleon, agreed to appoint a suitable person to treat of a concordat for the kingdom of Italy with Cardinal Fesch. He then proceeds to answer other remarks:

"We will seek celerity in all possible ways, but Your Majesty must be persuaded that in religious matters it is proper that all be done with exactness and maturity. Rest assured, too, that we know no statecraft, and that the maxims of the Gospel and the laws of the Church are our guide in all our operations. You may therefore be assured that we shall proceed with simplicity and with every possible spirit of conciliation and moderation.

"Still, we cannot refrain from observing to Your Majesty

that in the recent ordinances emanating from the Italian kingdom, as to which we have addressed our remonstrances to you, there are not only things which, according to the concordat, should be concerted with the Holy See, and which have been done without any mutual understanding, but others also, which, being in direct opposition to the articles of the concordat, cannot form the subject of a discussion. A statement of these deviations from the concordat, such as we have already sent you, demonstrates this sufficiently.

"If, on the one side, we can confide to conciliators the task of suggesting to you the most suitable precautions and modifications on subjects which, according to the concordat, should be adjusted in concert, and which in these ordinances have been acted upon without our intervention, and in a manner absolutely opposed to the laws of the Church; on the other hand, it is impossible to admit discussion on topics where the ordinances are in direct opposition to the articles of the concordat. We can in no manner, and with no modification, approve on this point the ordinances, without contravening so sacred and notorious a convention. By consenting to it, and continuing to dissemble, we should draw on ourselves the public reproach of having been a negligent guardian of the rights of the Church, agreed to and established in the concordat; and Your Majesty, even in the eyes of public opinion, would lose the reputation of firmness and fidelity to your promises.

"We doubt not that Your Majesty will, on this occasion, take the measure which your wisdom shall deem most efficacious to deprive these ordinances of all force, and to prevent the adoption of the same measures in the States of Parma and Piacenza.

"It is with the greatest pleasure that we see Your Majesty repeat in your letter that your object in all your determina-

tions is to seek the good of the Church; but it is only too true that, amid so many important cares, your religious feelings have been surprised, and your upright intentions deceived. Your Majesty has been made to believe that many things were done for the good of religion, and with the consent of the bishops and clergy. We have proofs that Your Majesty has been made to believe this, when in fact, in several points, it was not the case."

A murder committed on some men, supposed or at least pretended to be French, induced Cardinal Fesch to write so violent a letter to Cardinal Consalvi that the pope directed him to make no reply. This brought an unofficial letter from the cardinal uncle; but still it was evident that great difficulties menaced the pope, and the courtesies extended to Lucien, who had incurred his brother's displeasure, added to Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the authorities at Rome.

War having broken out between France and Austria in 1805, Napoleon, before marching on Vienna, ordered Ancona to be occupied. Pius VII addressed the emperor directly:

"Imperial and Royal Majesty:

"We will frankly say to Your Majesty, with all the ingenuousness of our character, that the order which you have given General Saint-Cyr to occupy Ancona with French troops, and to provision it, has caused us no less surprise than grief, both for the thing itself and for the manner in which it has been executed, Your Majesty not having in any manner forewarned us.

"Truly, we cannot dissemble that it is with lively sensibility that we behold ourselves treated in this manner, when we do not believe it, on any ground, deserved. Our neutrality, recognized by Your Majesty, as by all other powers, and fully respected by them, gave us a special motive to believe

that the sentiments of friendship which you professed in our regard would have preserved us from that bitter displeasure. We perceive that we are mistaken.

"We will say it frankly: from the moment of our return from Paris we have experienced only bitterness and displeasure, when, on the contrary, the personal acquaintance which we had formed with Your Majesty, and our invariable conduct, promised us the reverse. In a word, we do not find in Your Majesty the corresponding sentiments that we had a right to expect.

"We feel it deeply, and in regard to the present invasion we say with sincerity that our duty to ourselves and the obligations we have contracted towards our subjects compel us to call upon Your Majesty to evacuate Ancona. Should you refuse, we do not see how we can hold any further intercourse with Your Majesty's minister at Rome, such intercourse being in opposition to the treatment which we would continue to receive from Your Majesty at Ancona.

"Let Your Majesty be convinced that this letter is a painful duty for our heart, but that we cannot dissemble the truth, nor be wanting to the obligations that we have contracted.

"We will, therefore, hope that, amid all the bitterness that overwhelms us, Your Majesty will deliver us from the weight of this, which it depends on your will alone to spare us.

"We close by granting you, with all our heart, the paternal apostolical benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, November 13, 1805, of our pontificate the sixth year.

"Pius, PP. VII."

Austerlitz gave Napoleon victory, glory, and a peace. Venice was added to his Italian kingdom, and Pius VII looked with anxiety to the future conduct of the emperor.

A letter soon came, dated at Munich, January 7, 1806, in which he complained that, since the pope's return, he had received nothing but refusals at his hands, "on all subjects, even on those of the highest interests for religion—as, for example, when there was question of preventing Protestantism raising its head in France. I consider myself the protector of the Holy See, and as such I occupied Ancona. Like my predecessors of the second and third race, I deemed myself the eldest son of the Church, as alone bearing the sword to protect and shield it from being sullied by Greeks and Moslem. I will certainly protect the Holy See in spite of its false steps." He closed with a threat of recalling Cardinal Fesch, and replacing him by a layman; and then uttered this haughty vaunt: "God is judge who has done most for religion of all princes that reign."

Pius replied in a long and explicit letter, concluding in these noble and resigned words: "If the state of tribulation to which God has reserved us in our dolorous pontificate must reach its height, if we must be deprived of a thing so precious as Your Majesty's friendship and good will, the priest of Jesus Christ, with truth on his lips and in his heart, will bear all with resignation and without fear; tribulation itself will give him the reward of his constancy."

But the conqueror of Europe was not to be diverted. His letter of February 13, 1806, revealed all the pride of his character:

"I have received Your Holiness's letter of January 29. I share your pains; I conceive that you must have difficulties. You can avoid them all by walking in a straight road, and not entering into the labyrinth of politics and considerations for powers which, from a religious point of view, are heretics and out of the Church, and, from a political point of view, are remote from your States, unable to protect them, and

capable only of doing evil. All Italy shall be subject to my law. I will touch in nothing the independence of the Holy See.

"I will even pay it the expenses caused by the movements of my armies. But our conditions must be that Your Holiness will have for me in temporal things the same regard that I bear you in spiritual matters, and that you abandon useless conciliations towards heretics, enemies of the Church, and powers which can do you no good. Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor. All my enemies must be yours. It is not, therefore, becoming that any agent of the King of Sardinia, any Englishman, Russian, or Swede, reside at Rome or in your States, nor that any ship belonging to these powers enter your ports. I shall always entertain for Your Holiness, as head of our religion, the filial deference that I have shown you on all occasions; but I am accountable to God, who has vouchsafed to use my arm to restore religion, and how can I, without groaning, see it compromised by the delays of the court of Rome, where nothing is ever ended, where, for worldly interests, vain prerogatives of the tiara, souls are allowed to perish, though souls are the true foundation of religion? They will answer for it before God, who leave Germany in anarchy; they will answer for it before God, who are so zealous to protect Protestant marriages, and wish me to connect my family with Protestant princes; they will answer for it before God, who delay the expediting of the bulls of my bishops, and give up my dioceses to anarchy. It takes six months for bishops to enter into function, and it might be done in a week. As to the affairs of Italy, I have done all for the bishops. I have consolidated the interests of the Church. I have in nothing touched on spiritual matters. What I have done at Milan, I will do at Naples, and wherever my power extends. I do not refuse to accept

the concurrence of men endowed with true zeal for religion, and to confer with them; but if, at Rome, days are spent in doing nothing in a guilty inertia, since God has, after such great upheavings, committed it to me to watch over the maintenance of religion, I cannot become or remain indifferent to all that can injure the good and salvation of my peoples. Most Holy Father, I know that Your Holiness wishes well, but you are surrounded by men who do not, whose principles are bad, and who, instead of laboring at this critical moment to remedy the evils that have crept in, labor only to aggravate them. If Your Holiness will remember what I told you at Paris, religion would be organized in Germany, and not in the wretched state in which it is. In this country and in Italy all shall be done in concert with Your Holiness and duty. But I cannot let a thing languish for a year that can be done in a fortnight. It is not by sleeping that I have so highly exalted the condition of the clergy, the publicity of worship, and reorganized religion in France; so that there is not a country where it does so much good, is more respected, or enjoys higher consideration. Those who speak any other language to Your Holiness deceive you and are enemies; they will draw down misfortunes which will, in the end, prove disastrous."

This letter, assuming all the power of the civil over the spiritual order, openly seeking to make the Father of all Catholics the mere tool of the French government, was to have a suitable reply.

"That letter," says Pius VII, "rolls on so many and so grave subjects; it contains principles, demands, complaints of such bitterness, and coincides so much with what Your Majesty has said to us through your ministry, that we should render ourselves guilty of the greatest weakness before God, before the Catholic world and future ages, if we did not re-

veal our sentiments in the most free and open manner, or neglected to give to the demands made on us, the principles advanced, the complaints uttered, such replies as are dictated by the exact sentiment of justice, truth, and innocence.

"We owe to God, to the Church, to ourselves, to the paternal attachment which we profess for you, even to Your Majesty's glory, which is as dear to us as to you, to speak freely and frankly, as becomes the candor of our character, and the duty of our ministry here below.

"We owe it the more, because an imperious necessity impels us to fulfil duties the most essential. We see but too clearly, by the shock that has reached us, that the sentiments manifested by Your Majesty menace the dignity of the Holy See, and the most unalterable and respected rights of free sovereignty.

"We have entertained, and shall ever entertain, for Your Imperial and Royal Majesty the widest regard that can be suggested by esteem, good will, and friendship; but we cannot lend ourselves to these concessions, repugnant to the indeclinable obligations of our twofold representation, nor dissemble those truths of which we are convinced by the testimony of our conscience, nor yield to what is opposed to the guarding of that deposit of the patrimony of the Roman Church, which has been handed down to us through so long a series of ages by our predecessors, and which we promised before Almighty God, at the foot of his altars, and by the most sacred oaths, to transmit intact to those who should succeed us.

"We begin with Your Majesty's demands upon us. You wish us to expel from our States all Russians, Englishmen, and Swedes, and every agent of the King of Sardinia, and wish us to close our ports to the ships of the first three nations, and enter into a state of open war and hostility with

those powers. Your Majesty must allow us to answer you with precise distinctness, that it is impossible for us to yield to this demand, not from any views of temporal interest, but on account of essential duties inseparable from our character. Consider it under all respects that regard us, and judge yourself whether it comports with your religion, your greatness, your humanity, to force us to steps of this nature.

"We, Vicar of that Eternal Word who is not the God of dissension, but the God of concord, who has come into the world to 'drive out enmities,' and to 'announce peace to those who are afar off and those who are near,' to use the expressions of the apostle, how can we deviate from the lessons of our Divine Founder? how contradict the mission to which we have been destined?

"It is not our will, it is that of God, whose place we occupy on earth, that prescribes to us the duty of peace towards all, without the distinction of Catholic and heretic, neighbor or remote, those from whom we expect good and those from whom we expect evil. It is not permitted us to betray the office confided to us by the Almighty; and we should betray it if, for the motives set forth by Your Majesty—that is to say, when there is question of heretical powers that can only do us evil (thus speaks Your Majesty)—we should accede to demands requiring us to take part against them in war.

"If, as Your Majesty says, we should not enter the labyrinth of statecraft, from which we have always and ever shall keep aloof, we should the more abstain from taking part in the measures of a war which has political objects, a war in which religion is not attacked, a war in which, moreover, a Catholic power is concerned.

"The necessity of repelling hostile aggression, or defending religion imperilled, alone justified our predecessors in departing from a state of peace. If any one of them, through

human weakness, has departed from these maxims, his conduct, we say frankly, can never serve as an example for ours.

"This pacific attitude, which we should retain on account of the sacred character wherewith God has invested us, we should retain, also, for the good of the religion which he has confided to us, for the good of the flock which he has committed to our pastoral ministry. To expel the subjects of powers at war with Your Majesty, and to close the ports, would be to draw down the sure result of a rupture of all communication between us and the Catholics living in their domains.

"Can we leave abandoned so many faithful souls, while the Gospel forbids us to neglect going in search of even one? Can we be indifferent to the unnumbered evils which Catholicism would suffer in these countries, if it remained deprived of all communication with the centre of unity, which is the foundation and basis of the Catholic religion? If an irresistible force of human events deprived us of that free communication, we should groan deeply over such a calamity; but we should not suffer the constant remorse of being ourselves the cause. On the contrary, were we to notify the subjects of these sovereigns to leave our States and not approach our ports, would it not be an irreparable misfortune that, by an act absolutely our own, all communication should be interrupted between us and the Catholics living in those countries? How could we resist the inner voice of our conscience, which would continually reproach us with the sad consequences of the act? How could we hide the error from our own eyes?

"The Catholics who exist in these domains are not few in numbers; there are millions in the Russian empire, there are millions and millions in the countries subject to the kingdom of England; they enjoy the free exercise of their religion;

they are protected. We cannot foresee what would happen were the sovereigns of those States to behold themselves provoked by us, and by so decided an act of hostility as the expulsion of their subjects and the closing of our ports. The resentment against us would be the greater, as it would apparently be the more just, as we have received no injury from them.

"If this indignation should turn upon the persons of the Catholics, we might reasonably fear the overthrow of the exercise of the Catholic religion, permitted with so much liberty in those countries.

"Even if this should not ensue, there would certainly follow the suspension of all direct or indirect communication between the Catholics and ourselves, the prevention of missions, the interruption of all spiritual affairs; and this would be an incalculable evil for religion and Catholicism—an evil of which we should accuse ourselves, and have to render a most strict account before the tribunal of God.

"Let Your Majesty consider our constant conduct towards his person, and he will remember that wherever it concerned matters not at variance with our duty or which interested him, no regard has restrained us from constantly seeking to gratify his wishes. These facts need no enumeration; they are recent, known to all Europe; they have produced a universal opinion that we experience for you a sentiment of partial preference.

"Here we will close our replies to the first demands made by Your Majesty, with the trust that after such weighty reflections you will forego them, and deliver us from the distress into which they plunge us. But we cannot be silent as to the principles on which they are based. Far from all desire of domination and personal interest, it is not our cause that we defend; it is that of the Roman Church, and of the

see in which we are placed. Before ascending the throne, we swore to maintain these rights and defend them even to the shedding of our blood.

"Sire, let us lift the veil! You will not, you say, touch the independence of the Church; you say that you are sovereign of Rome; you say, in the same moment, that all Italy shall be subject to your law. You announce that, if we do what you wish, you will not change appearances; but if you understand that Rome, as forming part of Italy, is under your law, if you wish only to preserve appearances, the temporal domain of the Church will be reduced to an absolutely liege and servile condition, the sovereignty and independence of the Holy See will be destroyed. And can we be silent? Can we, by a silence that would render us in the eyes of God guilty of prevarication in our office, dissemble the announcement of such measures?

"Your Majesty lays down as a principle that he is emperor of Rome. We reply with apostolic freedom that the sovereign pontiff, who has been such for a great many centuries, so that no reigning prince counts an antiquity equal to his, the pontiff become sovereign of Rome does not recognize and has never recognized in his States a power superior to his own. No emperor has any right over Rome. You are immensely great; but you have been elected, consecrated, crowned, recognized Emperor of the French, not of Rome. There is no emperor of Rome; nor can there be, unless the sovereign pontiff is stripped of the absolute domain and empire that he alone wields at Rome. There exists, indeed, an emperor of the Romans; but that title is recognized by all Europe and Your Majesty himself in the Emperor of Germany. This title cannot belong at once to two sovereigns; it is only a title of dignity and honor, which diminishes in nothing the real and apparent dignity of the Holy See.

Finally, this imperial dignity has not, and has never had, any relation to the quality and extent of eminent and useful domain, and has always from its origin been preceded by an election.

"Your Majesty says that our relations with you are the same as those of our predecessors with Charlemagne. Charlemagne found Rome in the hands of the popes; he recognized and confirmed their domains without reserve; he increased them by new donations; he pretended to no right of domain or superiority over the pontiffs considered as temporal sovereigns; he pretended neither to dependence nor subjection from them.

"He recognized, as from the will and nomination of the same pontiffs, his relations with them, by receiving the simple quality of Advocate and Defender of the Roman Church, both when he accepted from them the title of patrician (a title of which, after the death of Adrian I, he solicited confirmation by a special embassy sent to his successor, Leo III), and when by special acts he obtained the adoration of these two pontiffs; and finally, when, being at Rome during the Easter holidays, he received at Saint Peter's the imperial dignity—a gift which was an unforeseen and spontaneous act of the said pontiff, Leo III.

"But, in fine, ten centuries elapsing since the time of Charlemagne render useless all more remote investigation. Peaceful possession for a thousand years is the most luminous title that can exist among sovereigns; this possession has shown that whatever may have been, in these obscure times and tempestuous circumstances, the understanding between Charlemagne and the pontiffs, the Holy See has since known in its temporal domains no other relations with the successors of Charlemagne than those existing between any absolute and independent sovereign and other sovereigns.

"Any extension of domains whatever, even legitimately acquired by a sovereign, gives him no right to alter in its least part a possession of this nature, enjoyed peacefully by another sovereign. The principles of natural law, applied to the interests of nations, establish the basis of all social relations on this maxim—that sovereignties, great or little, always preserve as to each other the same state of independence. To abandon this maxim would be to substitute brute force for reason.

"Your Majesty, in your uprightness, cannot but be firm in these principles. Their consequence is evident. The extent of States acquired by Your Majesty can give you no new right over our temporal domains. Your acquisitions find the Holy See in possession of an absolute independent sovereignty, a possession continued through so many ages and recognized by all, and they should leave it in the possession. Your Majesty is too enlightened not to avow that the certainty of these truths is incontestable, admitting of no exception; either there is no longer any right of independent sovereignty, or the right of independent pontifical sovereignty cannot be altered in any point.

"We cannot admit the following proposition: That we should have for Your Majesty, in temporal things, the same regard that you have for us in spiritual matters. This proposition has an extent that destroys and alters the notions of our two powers. A Catholic sovereign is such only because he professes to recognize the definitions of the visible head of the Church, and regards him as the master of truth and the sole vicar of God on earth. There is therefore no identity or equality between the spiritual relations of a Catholic sovereign to the supreme hierarch, and the temporal relations of one sovereign to another. You say, too, that your enemies should be ours. This is repugnant to the character of our

divine mission, which knows no enmities even with those who are removed from the centre of our union. Whenever Your Majesty is at war with a Catholic power, must we be at war with the same power? Charlemagne and every prince advocate of the Church professed to shield it from, not drag it into war. Your proposition tends to make the pontifical sovereign a feudatory, a liege vassal of the French empire."

The Holy Father then refuted the accusations of delay, especially in regard to expediting bulls for French bishops. Ecclesiastical affairs require mature investigation, and cannot be despatched as lightly as temporal matters. As regarded the accusation of disregard for the salvation of souls, he could appeal to God and the world whether human interest or vain prerogative had guided his action. The religious troubles in Germany were not to be ascribed to him. The changes ordered by the recess at Ratisbon alone caused them. Extraordinary political convulsions present immense difficulties.

In regard to the marriage of Jerome, Pius renewed his declaration of its validity. As to the Italian concordat, he renewed the statements already made.

Meanwhile the power of Napoleon in Italy was becoming dominant. His brother Joseph had entered Naples at the head of an army and been proclaimed king. From that city came rumors of new schemes: the Holy See was to be transferred to Avignon or Paris, the Pontifical States divided between the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, the order of Malta secularized, the Code Napoleon established at Rome, marriage of the clergy authorized. At Paris, Napoleon chafed over his limited power: "I find a priest more powerful than I, for he reigns over minds, while I reign over matter."

"On the evening of the Wednesday and of the Saturday following in the Holy Week, in the year 1806, immediately

after the holy offices in the chapels of the Quirinal Palace were concluded, two congregations assembled in the house of His Eminence Cardinal and Dean Antonelli. The meeting lasted for several hours, and there were present, besides the master of the house above mentioned, the Cardinals de Pietro, Litta, Pacca, and Consalvi, secretary of state. The business of the day was commenced by Cardinal Consalvi, who informed the congregation that intelligence had reached him from the apostolic legation at Paris, and from other sources, to the effect that there were substantial reasons for apprehending the immediate invasion of a corps of the French army, whose object was to take possession of the Pontifical States and Rome in the name of the Emperor Napoleon. Cardinal Consalvi, at the same time, by order of His Holiness the pope, requested the opinion of the cardinals present with regard to the measures which, in case the lamentable event should happen, it might be advisable to take.

"Three resolutions," says Cardinal Pacca, in the course of his valuable Memoirs, in addition to several others of less importance, were accordingly adopted, being such as were considered expedient, and, supposing the menaced invasion and the change of the government actually ensued, would be even indispensable. As it was already evident that, in the event of a change in the government, the first step that would follow would be the expulsion of the Sacred College from Rome and the dispersion all over Italy of the cardinals, who would probably be thenceforward deprived of all manner of communication with the Holy Father, one of the resolutions above referred to directed that there should be prepared a papal bull, which, in case of a vacancy of the Holy See, should abrogate a great portion of the ceremonies usual on such occasions, and at the same time modify certain of

the decrees relating to the election of pontiffs, of which the critical state of the times might render the execution dangerous or impracticable. His Eminence Dean Antonelli was accordingly requested to collect the materials necessary for the purpose, and make a minute of the bull in question.

"The second of the three resolutions prescribed the necessity of publishing a manifesto addressed to all the foreign courts of Europe, and containing a protest against the usurpation of the dominions of the Holy See, together with an assertion of its rights, which object Cardinal Consalvi informed the congregation would be fully answered by a document already in process of completion in the secretary of state's office.

"Finally, by the third resolution it was unanimously agreed by every one present that, with regard to the various scandalous innovations contained in the anti-Catholic laws and establishments of France, silence had already been maintained too long, and that now, although late, at all events in the present case, it behooved the pope to lift up his voice, and, either by bull or brief, proclaim to the world at large the offences against the sacred laws of the Church that had been committed by the French government, and at the same time announce the censures that the authors, instigators, and executors of the above-mentioned innovations had incurred. The charge of collecting materials and of preparing a minute of a bull and of a brief on the above subject was accordingly intrusted to His Eminence, Cardinal de Pietro."

Napoleon now recalled Cardinal Fesch and made M. Alquier his ambassador at Rome, the last act of his uncle being to announce the accession of Joseph to the throne of Naples. But the Holy See hesitated to recognize this new régime unless it respected the honored rights of the Holy See, while the emperor regarded the long-continued recognition of the

dependency of that kingdom on the Holy See merely as the isolated opinion of some kings. Although he had caused the former sovereign to restore Benevento and Ponte Corvo to Pius VII, he now made them principalities, creating Talleyrand Prince of Benevento, and Bernadotte Prince of Ponte Corvo.

In intimating this to the Holy See, Napoleon based his action on a wish to prevent any future misunderstanding between Naples and the pope, these States being small, surrounded by Neapolitan territory, difficult to govern, and producing little revenue. "The slight sacrifice asked will be easily repaired," he added, "by the compensation which His Majesty proposes to offer the sovereign pontiff, and which will be much more convenient to the Holy See."

But Pius VII already saw the necessity of exerting his spiritual power as the only means left, the clearest means of definitely declaring his sense of wrong. The bull of excommunication was definitively arranged, couched in stronger terms even than that ultimately issued. It was then secretly printed, though afterwards suppressed in consequence of typographical errors.

In an audience to which he admitted Alquier, the new French ambassador, with Cardinal Fesch, Pius VII said to the cardinal: "We only charge you to tell the emperor that, though he greatly maltreats us, we are greatly attached to him and to the French nation. Repeat to him that we will not enter into any confederation; that we will be independent because we are a sovereign; that if he does violence to us we will protest in the face of Europe, and make use of the temporal and spiritual means that God has placed in our hands."

"Your Holiness," replied the cardinal, "should remember that you have no right to make use of spiritual authority in

the present affairs of France with Rome." Pius demanded, in an elevated tone, whence he drew that opinion, but the reporter of the interview does not give the reply.

At a subsequent interview the pope said to Alquier: "The emperor has not thought fit to keep his promises to us. If we yielded now to what is asked in his name, we should not escape the danger that menaces us. We see in the letters of His Majesty and in several official documents that we shall no longer be regarded as a sovereign unless we accede to the federative system, and consent to be included in the circuit of the empire. Cardinal Consalvi is unjustly blamed; they seem to think at Paris that we are so weak as to be directed by his will, and are a mere puppet in his hands. We will give him a successor, but our policy will not change. All the important points of our States are successively occupied by the troops of the empire, whom we could not maintain even by levying new imposts. We warn you that, if they seek to seize Rome, we shall refuse entrance into the Castle of Sant' Angelo. We shall make no resistance, but your soldiers must batter down the gates with artillery. Europe shall see how we are treated, and we shall at least have proved that we have acted as becomes our honor and our conscience. If our life is taken, the grave will honor us, and we shall be justified in the eyes of God and the memory of men."

Soon after, Alquier addressed the pope personally, and in the emperor's name demanded that the ports in his States be closed against England whenever France was at war with that country; and, secondly, that the fortresses in his States should be occupied by French troops whenever an army landed in Italy or threatened it at any point.

Pius VII refused firmly and distinctly, and, in the interview which he granted to the French ambassador, said: "His Majesty can, when he will, execute his threats, and deprive

us of all we possess. We are resigned to all, and ready, if he will, to retire to a monastery or to the catacombs of Rome, after the example of the first successors of Saint Peter."

Meanwhile Napoleon had by intrigues forced Francis II, on the 6th of August, 1806, to renounce the elective imperial crown and assume the title of hereditary Emperor of Austria. The Western Empire thus ended, one argument of Pius VII was removed. The victory of Jena laid Prussia at Napoleon's feet, and he issued at Berlin his famous decree declaring England in a state of blockade. Against these the pope protested, and in spite of reiterated demands adhered to his determination.

Correspondence still continued on minor and complimentary points, the birth of a son of the Viceroy of Italy, and similar topics; but events were rapidly tending to a rupture. Cardinal Consalvi was replaced by the aged Cardinal Casoni, but with the title only of pro-secretary of state. Cardinal Caprara, at Paris, was now very aged, and the pope negotiated solely at Rome. This did not please Napoleon, and the pope proposed to send the able Cardinal Litta, but the emperor insisted on having the pope represented at Paris by one of his own subjects, Cardinal de Bayanne. The pope, resolving to continue him ambassador there merely in form, accordingly despatched him on the 29th of September, 1807, attended by Monsignor della Genga.

The marriage of Jerome with a princess of Würtemberg was communicated to His Holiness, and called forth a reaffirmation of the validity of the former marriage.

But we must now turn from these relations with France to consider the acts of Pius in regard to his States and the Church at large. The French troops, who occupied much of his territory, entailed enormous expenses on his treasury; but these he met, endeavoring in all ways to prevent public

discontent. He was a patron of art, and sought to increase the well-being of his States. The condition of his States at his accession was such that he had rather ruins to repair, desolation to cover, than new works to direct. The period of peace granted him had been well turned to account. Science, literature, and art flourished, and new and important public works were projected. The Academy of Saint Luke, so long a favorite of the pope's, and dedicated to the fine arts, received in 1806 a new honor from Pius VII. He instituted the order of the Moro, or Moretto, so called from the Moor's head portrayed on it, taken from the pontiff's arms. This cross was bestowed on the presidents of the Academy of Saint Luke at the close of their term of office. The ribbon is red, edged with black.

On the 24th of May, 1807, a canonization took place for the first time in many years, no similar ceremony having been performed by Clement XIV or Pius VI. Some wished Pius VII to defer it now, but he replied: "We are still a free pontiff, perhaps for some months. Who knows but that new victories in northern Europe may become the signal for our ruin? Let us hasten the celebration of a festival where the tiara, the same that a son, now turned ingrate, presented to us, may still be placed on our head." Pius overcame all obstacles. He renounced all fees and perquisites, and arranged to pay the expenses to be incurred in ten years. Nothing was to be spared to diminish the magnificence of the ceremony. It was indeed imposing, and pilgrims flocked from all parts of Europe, even from the depths of Bohemia and Hungary, to witness the majestic rites. The saints raised to the altar on this occasion were:

(1) Saint Francis Caracciolo, founder of the order of Regular Clerks Minor. This illustrious saint was born October 13, 1563, of noble parents, at Santa Maria, in the Abruzzo, and

received the name of Ascanius. After a youth of innocence, an attack of leprosy made him resolve to leave the world, and he was ordained priest at Naples. In 1588 John Augustine Adorno and Fabricius Caracciolo, resolving to found a new institute, agreed to invite Ascanius Caracciolo to join them. The letter was received and accepted by the saint, and the new order was formed and approved by Sixtus V in 1586. It began its work of preaching missions and instruction, and soon spread rapidly. Saint Francis was elected general, and gave it still greater impulse, both in Italy and Spain. He foretold his death, and died at Agnone, June 4, 1608. He was beatified by Clement XIV.

(2) Saint Benedict of Saint Philadelphia, surnamed the Moor, and the patron saint of the negroes. He was born in 1526, at Saint Philadelphia, in the diocese of Messina, Sicily, where his parents were African slaves. After a boyhood of great piety, he entered an order of solitaries; but this order being suppressed by Pope Pius IV, he entered, as a lay brother, a Franciscan convent of the Strict Observance, at Palermo, where he was regarded as a model of a perfect religious. Although but a lay brother, he was made superior, and ruled with great prudence. He died at the age of sixty-three. Three years after his death his body was found intact. He was beatified by Pope Benedict XIV in 1743.

(3) Saint Angela Merici, foundress of the Ursulines. She was born at Desenzano, near Lake Guarda, on the 21st of March, 1470. Her early impulse of piety led her, as a child, to seek to live as a hermit; and on growing up she entered the Third Order of Saint Francis, at Salo. Returning to her native place after the death of her uncle, who had become her guardian, she felt an earnest desire to devote herself to the education of girls. A little community was soon formed, and she was invited to Brescia, where she extended her good

work. On the 25th of November, 1535, her order took its definite form, and was dedicated to Saint Ursula. She was made superior against her will, and, after governing with supernatural light, died January 27, 1540. Her order spread greatly in Italy, and was extended to France and America, where it has done incalculable good. The Ursuline convent at Quebec has existed since 1639, and that at New Orleans is the oldest convent in the United States. Saint Angela was beatified by Clement XIII, April 30, 1768.

(4) Saint Hyacinth Mariscotti was a daughter of Count Mark Antony Mariscotti and Octavia Orsini. She was born in 1588, and called Clarissa. Although miraculously saved from death, her youth was frivolous and worldly, and, on the marriage of a younger sister, she was so disappointed and vexed that she became intolerable. Her father proposed to her to enter a Franciscan convent. She consented, but led a most worldly life even in the convent. A fit of sickness made her amend her course; and her subsequent life edified more than her vanity had scandalized. She died on the 30th of January, 1640, after a life of good works, austerities, and prayer. She was beatified, in 1726, by Benedict XIII.

Pope Pius VII beatified, in 1802, the Blessed Peter of Sienna and Blessed Mary Barthelemy Bagnesi; in 1803, the Blessed Joseph Mary Tommasi; in 1804, the Blessed Veronica Giuliani; in 1806, the Blessed Francis of Girolamo, of the Society of Jesus, the Blessed Crispin of Viterbo, and the Blessed Joseph Oriol.

Rome about this time lost a prince whom she had long claimed, but who, assuming a royal title, was last of an honored line. Henry Benedict Mary, cardinal of York, born at Rome, March 6, 1725, baptized by Benedict XIII, and known as Duke of York till his elevation to the purple by Benedict XIV, since which time he had been styled Cardinal

York, assumed on the death of James IV, in 1788, the title of Henry IX. He died at Rome, July 15, 1807, and with him closed the direct male line of the Stuarts, their claim passing to the King of Sardinia.

Cardinal York lost, by the French Revolution, most of his benefices and revenues, so that he actually suffered. It is to the credit of George III that, when aware of the condition of his Catholic kinsman, he relieved his declining years by a pension, which was gratefully received; and after the cardinal's death, Canova, by the order of the English monarch, erected the Stuart monument at Saint Peter's, not indeed the happiest production of his chisel.

The death of Cardinal York closed the right of nominating and presenting to English and Irish sees, which had always been recognized by Rome in the exiled Stuarts, and which was sometimes embarrassing. When a bishop was spoken of for the United States, fears were entertained lest the nomination should be confided to Cardinal York. Since his day the nominations are always made by the bishops, assisted by the clergy, whose selection is also laid before the Holy See.

At the close of the year 1807, Napoleon visited Italy, and Pius VII despatched Cardinals Caselli and Opizzoni to Milan to felicitate him, but nothing was gained. The emperor ordered the occupation of Rome, announcing it as a temporary measure. The troops entered the Eternal City February 2, 1808. Cardinal Casoni at once notified the representatives of the various powers. The commandant of the Castle of Sant' Angelo protested against its occupation, and the pope himself, the next day giving audience to the French ambassador and General Miollis, declared that he should consider himself a prisoner as long as the French troops were in Rome, and negotiation was now impossible. He

himself remained in his palace, declining to go out as long as a foreign military force held his capital. In the same spirit, Cardinal Joseph Doria, who succeeded Cardinal Casoni as pro-secretary of state, announced that the pope authorized no carnival festivities, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the French, the Romans deprived themselves of their great holiday.

The French soon raised the mask. It was evident that the whole government of the Church at Rome was to be broken up, as far as lay in their power. On the 27th the cardinal secretary of state was ordered to leave Rome. The next month the governor of Rome, Monsignor Cavalchini, was carried off, and a letter which he addressed to the pope suppressed. The imperial government then took possession of the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, which were declared perpetually and irrevocably reunited to the kingdom of Italy, because the pope would not make war on England, or join the kings of Italy and Naples to defend the peninsula, and also because the donation of Charlemagne, the illustrious predecessor of Napoleon, had been made for the benefit of Christianity, and not for the advantage of the enemies of holy religion.

On the 16th of June, Cardinal Gabrielli, the new secretary of state, was seized in the papal palace, and possession taken of all his papers. Other cardinals were gradually seized and removed, only those being left whose age or feeble health rendered removal dangerous. Napoleon seemed resolved to hold the pope a prisoner, and in case of his death or resignation to prevent the possibility of an election, except under his control. He proposed, but God disposed. Pius VII died peacefully at Rome, his successor was peacefully elected.

On the 11th of July the pope assembled in consistory the cardinals still left in Rome, and addressed them an allocu-

tion beginning "Nova vulnera." He recapitulated the constantly increasing acts of violence, and protested solemnly against them, expressing his readiness to lay down his life for his people, and imploring the emperor to remove the evil from the house of Israel, and hearken not to the counsel of the perfidious, who, under pretext of extending his royal power, were hurrying him to eternal perdition.

He soon after declared venerable Queen Clotilda of Sardinia, sister of Louis XVI and Madame Elizabeth.

The affairs of Catholicism in the United States were also among the last to engage his attention. The see of Baltimore had been erected by Pius VI, and John Carroll, a member of the suppressed Society of Jesus, chosen by the clergy, recommended by the American envoy, had been made bishop of the new see. His diocese was one of the largest in the world. It embraced the whole United States of that day, all the country east of the Mississippi, except part of Louisiana and Florida. The increase of Catholics in the country, especially at the larger cities, made it necessary to divide this great diocese, and Pius VII established new sees at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Bardstown, and erected Baltimore into a metropolitan see. The bulls for the new bishops were to be taken out by Dr. Concanen, a Dominican resident at Rome, who was appointed to the see of New York, but who died suddenly at Naples, after being greatly harassed by the French. The newly appointed bishops were John Cheverus, Bishop of Boston; Michael Egan, a Franciscan, Bishop of Philadelphia; and Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown.

Meanwhile Pope Pius VII appointed Cardinal Pacca to the dangerous post of secretary. The removal of Gabrielli defeated an attempt made to deliver the pope, which had been concerted between the cardinal and the court of Sicily.

One evening in August, 1808, a stranger called upon Cardinal Pacca, and stated that he was a Franciscan, disguised in that strange garb, that he had come from Sicily in an English frigate, despatched by King Ferdinand at the instance of Cardinal Gabrielli, and richly furnished for the pope by Queen Caroline. Father Cajetan Angiolini, procurator-general of the Society of Jesus, was on board the frigate, which had been coasting several days off Fiumicino. The stranger spoke truly; he was the Very Rev. Father Procida, who, when the lights agreed upon with Cardinal Gabrielli were not seen, had been sent by Father Angiolini, accepting the perilous task, and reaching Rome at the hazard of life. As he necessarily bore no documents, Cardinal Pacca was in grave doubts; but a conversation with Cardinal Erskine satisfied him that the plan was really formed. He then went to Pope Pius, and His Holiness told him that Cardinal Gabrielli had really endeavored to persuade him to escape from Rome, and had even provided him with a suitable disguise for the purpose; but for his own part, he said, he never had any intention to fly from Rome, nor even of his own free will ever to leave the city under any pretext whatever.

The noble Franciscan was compelled, therefore, to regain the frigate, traversing anew the dangerous route, without the consolation of beholding the head of the Church delivered from the hands of his enemies.

In September an attempt was made to deprive the pope of his secretary in the same manner as before, a fair sample of what a sovereign pontiff would be in the States of another ruler. The head of the Church, the pontiff of Catholics in every land, should be subject to none; he should be sovereign pontiff, not subject pontiff. When Major Muzio, the emissary of Miollis, came to announce to Cardinal Pacca

that he must leave Rome the next day, and that a party of dragoons would be ready to conduct him to Benevento, his native place, the cardinal boldly replied that he acknowledged no authority in Rome but the pope, and certainly would not go. Muzio, pursuant to orders, prevented Pacca from leaving the room, but permitted him to send a note to His Holiness.

"Not more than a few minutes had elapsed," said Cardinal Pacca, "since I despatched the report, when the door of the room was thrown open with extraordinary violence, and the presence of the Holy Father was abruptly announced to me. I instantly hurried to meet him, and was then an eye-witness of a phenomenon that I had frequently heard of, but had never seen, namely, the hair of a violently excited man standing erect on his forehead, while the excellent pontiff, blinded as it were with anger, notwithstanding that I was dressed in the purple soutane of a cardinal, did not recognize me, but cried with a loud voice, 'Who are you? who are you?'

" 'I am the cardinal,' replied I, as I kissed his hand.

" 'Where is the officer?' said the pope.

"I then pointed to the officer, who was standing close to me, in a respectful attitude; upon which the pope, turning towards him, addressed him nearly to the following effect, bidding him 'tell the general that he was weary of suffering such outrages and insults from a person who still professed to call himself a Catholic; and that he plainly perceived the drift of these acts of violence was to remove from him, one by one, all his ministers, and so deprive him of the means of exercising his apostolic functions and maintaining the rights of his temporal sovereignty; that he commanded me, the cardinal then present, not to obey the general's pretended orders, but to follow him to his own apartment and

be the companion of his captivity.' 'Neither,' he added, 'should the general, provided he thought proper to put his project in execution, of removing from him his minister, effect his purpose by any other means than by breaking the doors of the chambers, by arriving by main force in his presence, and by undertaking the unmitigated responsibility and consequences of such an unheard-of outrage.'

"The captain, now turning towards me, with a modest demeanor, begged me to explain to him in French what the pope had said, in order that he might report it to the general. Having done so accordingly, Monsignor Arezzo, who was present, pronounced the translation I repeated a perfectly faithful one; and the captain, as soon as he heard it, begged me to tell the Holy Father he would render an exact account of it to the general. The pope then taking me by the hand, saying at the same time, 'Signor Cardinal, let us be gone,' we ascended the grand staircase, and as we proceeded to the pope's apartments were cheered by a crowd of the pontifical attendants, who, on hearing the disturbance, had assembled there from every part of the palace."

The foreign ministers were informed of this outrage by the Holy Father, but such was the fear of Napoleon that the replies were generally cool.

The pope was now simply a prisoner, and prepared for the last act. A new bull of excommunication was drawn up by Father Francis Fontana, general of the Barnabites, and subsequently cardinal, under the direction of Cardinal de Pietro, and signed ready to issue, together with a protest or manifesto.

Cardinal Pacca thus records the events that occurred previous to this great act, which Napoleon foresaw, dreaded, yet derided:

"Meanwhile the encroachments and acts of violence com-

mitted by the French in Rome and in the Pontifical States became every day more outrageous; whence the pope, growing irritated, and with much reason, continually insisted that the notes and all official papers that issued from the secretary of state's office should be written with point and energy, and in a style that might make it apparent that he was now resolutely determined to make use of all the means that Providence had placed in his hands, in order to preserve the dominions of the Roman Church intact. One note, especially, addressed to General Lemarrois, in which he stated his intention in plain, open terms, or at least in terms sufficiently clear to be perfectly understood, gave infinite satisfaction to all ranks of people throughout the city. The determination of the pope, moreover, had the support of his most pious and devoted subjects; and the Holy Father himself began to speak of it without mystery; especially one day, in an audience, he observed to the treasurer of his States:

" 'That the French need mind what they were about; that the mine was ready prepared, and the match to set fire to it; and that whenever he chose to take the match in hand they must bear the consequences.'

"And again in another audience with Monsignor Alliata, the pro-auditor, he expressed himself as follows:

" 'We see,' said he, 'plainly that the French have a mind to force us to speak Latin, and speak Latin we will.'

"I had an audience with the Holy Father in the evening of the very day before the grand explosion took place, and told him 'I had received unquestionable intelligence from various quarters that the imperial decree for the union of the Pontifical States to the French empire would be issued on the morrow; for which reason,' I said, 'I had come to receive His Holiness's orders, as to whether, in case the report

proved true, I should cause the bull of excommunication to be placarded in the usual places.'

"The pope replied that 'it were better to postpone the execution of the measure until we had an opportunity of actually reading the imperial decree'; and he assigned at the same time as a reason, and a very good one, 'that we were dealing with people who were in the habit of frequently spreading reports themselves of measures likely to be undertaken, while they had no intention whatever of adopting them to the full extent, if at all; and that therefore, unless we knew the precise tenor of the decree, and the conditions and restrictions it contained, we might consequently fall into some contradiction that might put us in the wrong.' "

On the 17th of May, Napoleon issued, from his imperial camp at Vienna, a decree uniting all the pope's States to the French empire. Rome was declared an imperial and free city. The lands and domains of the pope were increased to produce a revenue of two million francs. A consulta was to take possession of the Pontifical States and organize the constitutional régime there on the 1st of January, 1810. General Miollis, who had left Rome, immediately returned, and prepared to publish his decree. And Pius VII calmly awaited the official announcement to issue his solemn protest and wield the fulness of his ecclesiastical power.

"On the morning of the 10th of June [1809]," says Cardinal Pacca, "a note, and at the same time verbal intelligence, was brought to me, stating that on the preceding evening the partisans of the French had triumphantly asserted at their private parties, as well as at the cafés, that the pope, in case of a change in the government, would do nothing more than issue a protest, to which the commandant, they said, would pay no more attention than he had done to his other notes:

and they further added that he had been persuaded to abandon the idea of having recourse to stronger measures by the advice of some of the cardinals. The moment I read the letter, the reports I had heard relative to the promulgation of the imperial decree became fully confirmed in my mind, and I perceived at once that the fatal day had arrived. And so it turned out eventually; for the pontifical standard that floated over the Castle of Sant' Angelo was lowered under a discharge of artillery at two hours before noon, and immediately afterwards the French tricolor was hoisted in its stead, and the decree announcing the termination of the papal dynasty proclaimed through all the streets of Rome by sound of trumpet. Immediately I hastened to the chamber of the Holy Father, and entered with a palpitating heart, as may well be imagined. There, if my memory serves me right, the first words that both of us uttered simultaneously were the words of the Redeemer: 'It is finished!'

"I took courage, however, and felt heartily edified in perceiving that His Holiness still preserved his equanimity, and by his countenance betrayed no apparent signs of wavering or want of determination. One or two minutes only now had elapsed when my nephew, Giovanni Tiberio Pacca, entered the room with a printed copy of the imperial decree, of which the French were dispersing a great number all over the city.

"Taking it in my hand, and requesting the pope to accompany me, we went to the window, for the curtains obstructed the light while we remained where we were. Accordingly, the pope rose from his seat and followed me; and I began to read, feeling at the same time a lively sense of the importance of preserving my mind in a state of tranquillity while the operations, which must now be immediately taken on perusal of the document, were depending.

But all my efforts to preserve my calmness were unavailing, and, my strength failing me, I was hardly able, even with frequent interruptions, to scan over the most important points of the document. The indignation that I felt at the sacrilegious outrage; the being in the presence—nay, hardly removed a single pace from my ill-fated sovereign, the vicar of Christ, who stood listening to the sentence of his dethronement as it fell from my lips; the impostures and calumnies which, glancing my eyes rapidly over the paper, I could not help observing; and the incessant reports of the French cannon, that, as it were, with an insulting tone of triumph, announced the iniquitous usurpation, excited me to such a degree that my faculty of sight was obfuscated, my respiration impeded, and, as I said before, I could scarcely read the principal articles at all, even with frequent interruptions. Observing, however, the features of the pope with more fixed attention, I perceived, at the first few words, an expression of an inward disturbance of spirit; not such as reflects the sensation of pusillanimous fear, but, on the contrary, manifesting a too reasonable feeling of indignation. He, however, speedily recovered the effects of the first impulse, and, recomposing himself by degrees, listened subsequently to the latter part of the decree with tranquillity and resignation.

"His first movement then was to turn towards the table, and, with his own hand, to sign several copies of the manifesto or protest referred to in the beginning of this chapter, all of which were placarded the very same evening. I then asked him whether I should likewise give orders to have the bull of excommunication placarded at the same time with the manifesto. To which he replied, after a few moments' reflection:

" 'Let it be done after sunset; but take special care,' he

added, 'to prevent the persons you employ being discovered, or they will be shot most certainly, and I should then be inconsolable.'

" 'Holy Father,' I replied, 'all possible precautions shall be taken, and nothing shall be done rashly; but I will not venture to answer to Your Holiness that the consequences will not be melancholy. God, if the act find favor in his sight, will know how to protect us.' "

Meanwhile the persons appointed to post the documents affixed them to the principal churches between six and seven o'clock in the evening, including especially the three great basilicas of Saint Peter's, Saint John Lateran, and Saint Mary Major's.

This famous bull, Quum memorandâ, was as follows:

"Pius, PP. VII.

"Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

"When the French troops, on the memorable 2d of February, after having invaded the most fertile provinces of the pontifical sovereignty, burst hostilely, impetuously, and unexpectedly upon the city of Rome, we were not able to persuade ourselves that such audacities could be attributed solely to political and military motives, as the invaders commonly gave out, that is to say, to the necessity of defending themselves, and of driving the enemy from the territories of the Holy Roman Church, or of punishing our constancy, and our refusal to condescend to some of the propositions made to us by the French government. We saw clearly that the project involved more than a short military occupation, or a demonstration of anger towards us. We saw clearly that the projects of impiety, which seemed, if not repressed, at least torpid, were warmed anew, quickened again, and drawn from the darkness—the projects of cun-

ning of those men who, deceived and deceivers, introducing sects of perdition through a vain and deceitful philosophy (Coloss. ii. 8), compassed with direct conspiracy, and for so long a time, the ruin of most holy religion. We saw that in our humble person the seat of the blessed Prince of the Apostles was circumvented, attacked, taken by force, so that, if once overthrown, if that were possible, the Catholic Church, built upon that see as upon an immovable rock by its divine founder, might fall and be cast utterly into the abyss.

"We had thought, we had hoped, not long ago, that the government of France, taught by the experiences of the evils that that powerful nation had drunk to the dregs from giving loose reins to impiety and schism, and warned by the unanimous wish of the great majority of citizens, would have been truly and profoundly convinced that it was necessary to its safety and to public happiness to render the exercise of the Catholic religion unreservedly free and to insure its peculiar protection. Inspired by this opinion and by this hope, we, who though unworthy, fill upon the earth the place of Him who is the God of Peace, scarcely have discovered a way to repair the disasters of the Church in France than the universe is witness to the ardent joy with which we have entered upon treaties of peace, and as to how much it cost us and the Church itself to conduct them to the issue which it has been permitted us to obtain. But, O eternal God, how have our hopes been mocked! What has been the fruit of so much indulgence, so much generosity! Since the promulgation of a peace thus obtained, we have been forced to exclaim with the prophet: 'Behold, in peace my bitterness is yet more bitter.' This bitterness we have not concealed from the Church: addressing our brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church in the consistory, May

24, 1802, we announced to them that in the promulgation of the concordat there had been added articles unknown to us, and of which we at the same time disapproved. In fact, the terms of these articles annihilate, in the gravest and most important points, the liberty in the exercise of the Catholic religion, which in the commencement of the stipulations of the concordat had been specified, concurred in, promised as a base and foundation; and, more, some of these articles attack the doctrines of the Gospel.

"Such has been also the issue of our convention with the Italian republic: the stipulations have been interpreted arbitrarily by a patent and injurious fraud, notwithstanding the pains taken by us to secure them from all arbitrary interpretations.

"The clauses of these two concordats having been distorted and violated in this way, especially those which had been established in favor of the Church, the spiritual authority was made dependent upon the lay power; and, far from the salutary effects which we had promised ourselves from these treaties, we were constrained to behold with grief the misfortunes and disasters of the Church develop and accumulate day by day. We will not make a detailed enumeration of these disasters, because they are sufficiently well known; the tears of the faithful have sufficiently deplored them, and we have sufficiently exposed them in our consistorial allocutions of March 16 and July 11, 1808.

"Thus all the world will recognize, posterity will know, what have been our opinion and decision respecting the repeated acts of audacious temerity on the part of the French government in affairs concerning the Church; all will know what has been our forbearance and patience; all will perceive why we have restrained ourselves so long. Entertaining only a love of peace, and conceiving a firm hope that

a remedy would arise to so many evils, we have deferred from day to day raising our apostolic voice. All will know what have been our cares, our labors, our efforts, to act, to conjure, to supplicate, to groan, so that the wounds of the Church might be healed. All will know how earnestly we have prayed that no new ones might be opened. But we have exhausted the means of humility, moderation, meekness, by which we have sought to defend the interests and rights of the Church, on one who had entered into a compact with the impious to destroy it utterly, one who in that spirit had contracted a friendship with it in order to betray it more easily, and who had pretended to protect it in order to oppress it more surely.

"We entertained great hopes, above all, when our journey to France was desired and solicited; afterwards our demands were eluded with cunning tergiversations, with subterfuges, and replies only invented to deceive or to delay the negotiations. As the time approached marked out for the execution of the meditated projects against this see and the Church of Christ, those demands were no longer regarded; we were attacked and tormented with new exigencies, either immoderate or captious, which clearly showed that it was intended to place us between two dangers, both wicked and hurtful to this see and to the Church—namely, to constrain us by an assent shamefully to betray our ministry, or, if we refused, to furnish a pretext for the declaration of open war. And as, because of the repugnance of our conscience, we could not yield to these demands, they deemed it right to pour troops hostilely into this holy city. They seized upon the citadel of Sant' Angelo; they placed detachments in the streets and squares; the very palace we occupy, the Quirinal, was besieged and menaced by a large force of infantry and cavalry, supplied with artillery. We, on the contrary, re-

assured by that God in whom we are all-able, sustained by the consciousness of duty, were neither moved nor shaken by a sudden terror, nor by this military display; with a spirit always calm and even, as became us, we celebrated the ceremonies and divine mysteries which belong to that most holy day (the Purification), omitting nothing through fear, forgetfulness, or negligence, in that duty demanded at that juncture. We remembered with Saint Ambrose that 'the holy man Naboth, possessor of a vineyard, called upon by a royal command to give up his vineyard, where the king, after pulling up the wine-stocks, would have planted potherbs, had replied: "God keep me from giving up the heritage of my fathers!"' Thence we have judged that it was much less permitted us to deliver up our ancient and sacred inheritance (the temporal domain of the Holy See, possessed, not without the evident ordination of Divine Providence, during so many ages by the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors), or to agree easily with whomsoever might seize upon the capital of the Catholic world, to trouble and destroy the form of sacred government which has been left by Jesus Christ to his holy Church, and regulated by the sacred canons which have been established by the Spirit of God, in order to substitute in its place a code not only contrary to the sacred canons, but incompatible with the evangelical precepts, and to introduce, in fine, another order of things, which tends manifestly to associate and confound the diverse sects and superstitions with the Catholic Church.

" 'Naboth defended his vineyard even at the price of his blood' (Saint Ambrose). Then shall not we, in whatever circumstances, defend the rights and possessions of the Holy Roman Church, which we have engaged under a solemn oath to preserve as much as lies in our power? Shall we not claim the liberty of the Apostolic See, so peculiarly

inseparable from the interests and liberty of the Universal Church?

"For present events, when other arguments fail, show too clearly how befitting and necessary the temporal power is to assume to the supreme head of the Church the free and certain exercise of that authority over the universe which has been divinely given him. Therefore, although we have never rejoiced in honors, riches, and the sovereign power, things we have never desired, both from our disposition and from our respect for that holy institute into which we entered in our youth, and which we have always cherished, we have deemed it our absolute duty to publish, by our cardinal secretary of state, a protestation dating from the same day, February 2, 1808, although reduced to such a critical position, in order to explain the causes of the tribulations which we suffered, and to declare that the rights of the Apostolic See must remain entire and intact.

"As the invaders effected naught by threats, they determined to adopt another system with us; they essayed to enfeeble gradually, by a kind of persecution, slow, although most painful, and consequently more cruel, our constancy, which they could not conquer by sudden terror. Hence, detaining us in our palace, as in a prison, since the second day of February, there has scarcely passed a day which has not been marked by some new injury to our heart or to this Holy See. All the soldiers maintained by us to preserve civil discipline and order, taken forcibly and incorporated with the French troops; our body-guards, all nobles and chosen men, shut up in the citadel of Rome, detained there several days, then dispersed and disbanded; troops stationed at the gates and in the most frequented places of the city; the post-offices and printing-houses, particularly the printing-house de Propaganda Fide, subjected to military force

and caprice, whilst they denied us the liberty to speak out, or to print the expression of our mind; administrations and tribunals annoyed and impeded; our subjects solicited by fraud, deceit, and other perverse means to swell the ranks of the so-called civic soldiers, rebels to their legitimate sovereign; the most audacious and corrupt of our subjects receiving the French and Italian tricolor, and protected by that as by a buckler, sometimes distributed with impunity in troops, sometimes acting alone, with orders or permission to commit iniquitous excesses against the ministers of the Church, against the government, and against all honest men; newspapers issued from the Roman presses, in spite of our protests, circulating amongst the people, or despatched abroad, full of insults, reproaches, and calumnies, even against the authority of the pontifical dignity; important declarations of ours, signed by our hand, or by that of our ministers, and posted by our command in the customary places, torn down by vile satellites, in the midst of the tears and indignation of the good, rent to pieces, trampled under foot; imprudent youths and other citizens invited to secret societies, prohibited severely under pain of anathema by the civil and ecclesiastical laws enacted by our predecessors Clement XII and Benedict XIV, and then added and inscribed; a great number of our ministers and officers, both city and provincials, just and faithful magistrates, persecuted, cast into prison, and banished; searches made violently in the private offices of the pontifical magistrates, without excepting the cabinet of our prime minister; three of our prime ministers themselves, secretaries of state, whom we were successively constrained to replace, taken by force from our own palace; the greater number of the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, that is to say, our collaterals and co-operators, torn from our breast and from

our side by military force, and exiled afar. Behold amongst so many others the outrages committed audaciously and wickedly by the invaders, against all right, human and divine; they are so notorious that we need not delay to relate and explain them further. We have not failed to protest against all these attacks with force and courage, as our ministry demanded, in order to avoid the suspicion of connivance, or of any assent whatever. Thus, almost despoiled of the attributes of our dignity, and the support of our authority; destitute of all help necessary to fulfil our ministry, and to bestow our care upon all the churches; overwhelmed by multiplied injuries, vexations, and terrors; oppressed, tortured; every day deprived more and more of the exercise of each of our powers, whatever shadow of those powers we have preserved we owe entirely, under the singular and experienced providence of the all-powerful Lord, to our fortitude, to the prudence of the ministers who remain with us, to the tenderness of our subjects, and finally to the piety of the faithful.

"But, if a phantom of authority was still preserved to us in this illustrious Rome and in the bordering province, all power was denied us in the flourishing provinces of Urbino, the Marches, and Camerino. In order to oppose a solemn protest against this manifest and sacrilegious usurpation of so many States of the Church, and to caution, at the same time, our beloved subjects of those provinces against the seductions of an unjust and illegitimate government, we have not neglected to give instructions to our venerable brothers the bishops of those provinces.

"And this government, how little it has delayed, how it has hastened to prove by deeds what, in our instruction, we had announced might be expected from its religion! The occupation and pillage of the patrimony of Jesus Christ; the

abolition of religious houses; the banishment from convents of consecrated virgins; churches profaned; the reins gradually removed from license; a contempt for ecclesiastical discipline and the holy canons; the promulgation of the code and other laws contrary not only to the holy canons themselves, but to the evangelical precepts and to the doctrine of divine right; the persecution and degradation of the clergy; the subjection of the sacred authority of the bishops to the lay power; the violence attacking, by all means, their conscience; expulsion from their sees, their banishment, and other audacities and sacrilegious enterprises against the liberty, the privilege, and the doctrines of the Church, put in execution in our provinces as in the countries submitted to the authority of this government—such are the transcendent attestations, the pledges, the monuments of that admirable love for the Catholic religion, which it never ceases, even to-day, to vaunt and to promise.

"For ourselves, filled with these bitternesses by those from whom we least expected it, and overwhelmed by affliction, we mourn less over our present condition than upon the future condition of our persecutors, 'for though the Lord our God is angry with us a little while for our chastisement and correction, yet he will be reconciled again to his servants' (2 Maccabees vii. 33). 'But he that has been the author of all mischief against the Church, how shall he escape from the hand of God?' (2 Maccabees vii. 31). 'God will not except any man's person, neither will he stand in awe of any man's greatness; for he made the little and the great' (Wisdom vi. 8). 'But a greater punishment is ready for the more mighty' (ibid. v. 9). Would to God we were able, at whatever price, even at the price of our life, to avert eternal damnation, to secure the salvation of our persecutors, whom we have always loved, and whom we cease not to love in

heart! Would to God we were permitted to remain always in this charity, in this spirit of meekness (1 Cor. iv. 21), which nature endowed us with, and which our will has put in practice, and always have in repose that rod which has been ascribed to us in the person of the most blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, with the care of the universal flock of the Lord, for the correction and punishment of wandering lambs obstinate in their error, and for the salutary example and terror of others!

"But the time for mildness has gone by; all but those who are wilfully blind can see where these outrages tend, what they mean, in what they will end, if means be not employed to arrest their excesses; all see, besides, that there is no longer any hope that the authors of those outrages can be softened by the admonitions, counsels, prayers, and representations of the Church. They have closed the doors to all these, they are deaf to all, they reply but to heap injuries upon injuries. It is impossible for those who attempt nothing, advance nothing, pursue nothing, but to subdue the Church and make her like the servant of a master, to destroy her utterly after having subdued her, to obey her as a mother, or to listen to the mistress as disciples.

"If we would not incur the reproach of negligence and sloth, the stain of having shamefully abandoned the cause of God, what can we do except rise above all earthly reasoning, set aside all worldly considerations, and execute that evangelical precept: 'If any man hear not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican' (Matt. xviii. 17). 'Let them learn, once for all, that they are submitted, by the law of Jesus Christ, to our command and to our throne; for we exercise a higher authority and command than theirs, unless it be but just that the spirit submit to the flesh, and the things of heaven to the things of earth' (S. Greg. Naz., Or. 17, Paris,

1768). Formerly many pontiffs, commendable for their doctrine and their holiness, have been brought to these extremities against hardened kings and princes, because the cause of the Church required it, for any of those crimes which the sacred canons smite with anathema; shall we, then, fear to follow the example of those pontiffs, after so many outrages, so wicked, atrocious, and sacrilegious, so well known and so manifest to all? Should we not more wisely fear that we may be accused, justly and by good right, of having delayed our action, rather than entered upon it with temerity and precipitation, especially when we are apprised by this last outrage, the greatest of all with which they ceaselessly attack our temporal power, that we shall no longer be free and assured of the accomplishment of the important necessary duties of our apostolic ministry?

"From these causes, by the authority of Almighty God, of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and by ours, we declare that all those who, after the invasion of this illustrious city and of the ecclesiastical possessions, after the sacrilegious violation of the Patrimony of Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, planned and executed by the French troops, have committed in Rome and in the possessions of the Church, against the ecclesiastical privilege, against the temporal rights of the Church and of the Holy See, the abuses or any of the abuses which we have denounced in the two consistorial allocutions before referred to, and in several protestations and reclamations published by our order—we declare that those who are above designated, and also their employers, abettors, counsellors, adherents, and others, who have ordered the execution of the said outrages, or who have themselves executed them, have incurred the major excommunication, and the other ecclesiastical censures and penalties inflicted by the holy canons, by the apostolic constitu-

tions, and particularly by the decrees of the general councils, and above all by the Council of Trent; and if need be, we once more excommunicate and anathematize them. We declare that they have incurred the penalties of the loss of all privileges, favors, and indulgences, accorded in whatsoever manner they might be, either by the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, or by us. We declare that no one can absolve and free them from such censures except ourselves, or the sovereign pontiff then existing (unless at the moment of death, for they must return under the said censures in the case of convalescence), and that no absolution can be granted them until they have retracted, revoked, abrogated, and abolished publicly, in whatsoever manner it may be, those outrages; until they have re-established fully and effectively all things in their original condition, and have given to the Church, to us, and to the Holy See, the worthy satisfaction which the principal points above enunciated demand. Therefore, we enact and declare, similarly by the tenor of the said presents, that not only those who are worthy of a special attention, but also their successors in office will not be permitted, on any pretext whatever, by virtue of these presents, to believe themselves free from the necessity of retractation, revocation, abrogation, and absolution, which they must make for the outrages before stated, nor from the satisfaction due to the Church, to us, and to the Holy See—satisfaction which must be real and effective; they must be willing that these obligations retain their force, otherwise they cannot obtain the benefit of absolution.

"Finally, whilst we are constrained to draw from its scabbard the sword of the Church's severity, we may not forget that we hold upon earth, despite our unworthiness, the place of Him who in the display of justice forgets not mercy. Therefore we order, addressing ourselves to our subjects

and to all Christian people, by virtue of holy authority, that no person shall presume to occasion damage, nor injury, nor any wrong whatsoever, to those whom these presents concern, nor entertain prejudice against them, nor endanger their properties, rights, and prerogatives, on account of these presents, or under any pretext founded on them. For, in inflicting on those whom we condemn the penalties which God has placed within our power, and in avenging so many great injuries to God and to his holy Church, we entertain the hope of 'seeing those who actually torment us converted, in order to be tormented with us' (Saint Augustine). 'If, peradventure, God may give them repentance to know the truth' (2 Tim. ii. 25).

"Thus, then, raising our hands to heaven in the humility of our heart, whilst we again recommend to God the just cause which we defend, and which is much more his than ours, and whilst we assert with his help to be ready to drain to the very dregs the chalice which he first deigned to drain for it, we supplicate him, we conjure him by the bowels of his mercy, not to reject, not to despise the prayers and supplications which we address to him night and day that they may repent and be saved. Truly, no day could be so fortunate and so consoling to us as that on which the divine mercy shall be granted, and our sons, who to-day overwhelm us with so many tribulations, take refuge in our paternal bosom and seek once more to re-enter the fold of the Lord.

"We intend that the present letters, and all that they contain, shall not be attacked under the pretence that the abovementioned, or any others whatsoever, who are in any manner whatsoever, or pretend to be, interested therein, to whatever state, grade, order, pre-eminence, or dignity they may belong, have not consented to the effect of these presents, and that their reasons have not been sufficiently heard, veri-

fied, and justified. We intend, moreover, that these letters shall never, under any pretext, color, or motive, be regarded as stained with the vice of subreption, or of obreption or nullity, or of failure of intention on our part, or of error of any description whatsoever. These contents of these letters shall never, under any pretext whatsoever, be attacked, rejected, retracted, called in question, or restricted by legal terms. It shall not be lawful to allege against them verbal reclamation, right of restitution to former state, or other legal remedy, of fact or favor; it can only be opposed that this remedy, after having been solicited, has been granted, and emanated, motu proprio, of our own motion, science, and plenary power; it is understood that it shall never serve in any manner, nor aid any one, in judgment or out of judgment. We declare that the present letters must remain entire, valid, and efficacious, that they shall have and shall obtain their full and entire effect, and that they must be observed inviolably by those whom they concern, and by those whom they shall concern hereafter. Thus, and in no other manner than is stated in these presents, must they be judged and defined by the judges ordinary, by the delegated auditors of the apostolic palace, by the cardinals of Holy Roman Church, by the ambassadors extraordinary of the pope, and by the nuncios, and by all others enjoying or who shall enjoy any superiority or power whatsoever—understanding that from all and from each of them is hereby withdrawn all faculty and authority to judge differently from what is herein set down. Finally, we declare null and void all that may be attempted against these letters on any authority whatsoever, knowingly or through ignorance.

"In consequence of the foregoing, and, as far as need be, notwithstanding the rule of our apostolic chancery as to the preservation of vested rights and the other apostolic consti-

tutions and decrees, granted to whomsoever, and all other statutes and customs confirmed by oath and apostolic authorization, or any other confirmation—notwithstanding the customs, usages, styles, even immemorial privileges, indults, letters, granted to whomsoever, whether invested with ecclesiastical or civil dignity, whatever their qualifications, even should they pretend to invoke an express and special designation, under any tenor and form whatever, even availing themselves of derogatory and other more efficacious, most efficacious, unusual and abrogating clauses and other decrees, even made directly antagonistic of motu proprio, knowledge, plenitude of power, and consistorially or however otherwise, concessions made, written, renewed repeatedly, approved, confirmed and reaffirmed—we declare that we derogate by these presents from these constitutions in an express and special manner, and intend such derogation, although these acts, or some thereof, be not expressly inserted in these presents, worthy as they may be supposed of special notice, express and individual or of particular form; in like case willing that these presents have the same force as if the tenor of the constitutions and clauses to be observed was expressed by name, and word by word, and that, in fine, they obtain their full and entire effect, all things to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Since it is a matter of notoriety that these letters cannot be published everywhere in safety, particularly in places where it is important that they should appear, we desire that these letters or their copies be affixed to the gates of the Lateran Church and the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, to those of the apostolic chancery, of the general Curia of Monte Citorio, and to the entrance of the Campo de Fiori of Rome; and such posting and publication shall be equivalent to a personal service on each and all of those whom they concern.

"We further desire that as much faith be placed, abroad, everywhere, in all places, and in all nations, in each extract, copy, or impression of these presents, furnished with the signature of some person of ecclesiastical dignity, as would be placed in these presents were they themselves exhibited and shown.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, under the seal of the fisherman, on the tenth day of June, in the year 1809, of our pontificate the tenth.

"Pius, PP. VII."

The issuing of the bull of excommunication caused a sort of suspense at Rome, and anxiety prevailed on both sides. In the palace they hourly expected a violent arrest, while, on the other hand, Miollis, it is pretended, with feeble resources at his immediate command, was in fear of beholding the pope issue forth in his pontifical attire to call his people to protect him.

Miollis, who undoubtedly had his whole course laid out for him, at last resolved to arrest the pope and carry him from Rome by a coup de main. To execute his plans he summoned General Radet, inspector-general of the gendarmerie of Tuscany, who, on the 12th of June, had entered Rome with four hundred mounted gendarmes, evidently for the very purpose of carrying off the Holy Father like a malefactor; although some French writers, following Radet's tardy apology, would seem to think otherwise.

Reinforced by eight hundred Neapolitan recruits sent by Murat, Radet, on the night of the 5th of July, collected his force on the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli and in the barracks in the Piazza della Pilotta, near Monte Cavallo, and received a written order from General Miollis "to arrest Cardinal Pacca; and in case of opposition on the part of the pope, to

arrest His Holiness also, and to convey both the pope and the cardinal to Florence.'" The reader will necessarily smile at the absurdity of this statement, and look with suspicion on the whole French account, for it is not to be supposed that Radet was summoned from Tuscany with four hundred men and eight hundred more obtained from Naples merely to arrest Cardinal Pacca.

Radet divided his force, placed guards at the various churches to prevent any alarm, and when the officer of the pope's guard, placed on vedette on the salient tower, retired at thirty-five minutes past two on the morning of the 6th, he gave the signal. Thirty men scaled the garden wall near the great gate called the Cortile della Panetteria, twenty-five guarded a little gate behind the street descending to the Lavatoja, while Colonel Siry, with fifty men, cut open with axes the windows on the street leading to the Porta Pia, and, penetrating into the palace, opened the great door for Radet, who, collecting his men, marched in, dispersing some workmen, and compelling the Swiss guard to lay down their arms.

Cardinal Pacca, who had seen the preparations the evening before, but, after sitting up nearly the whole night, had now fallen asleep, was roused by the noise and saw the French pouring into the palace. He thus describes the scene that followed:

"Instantly I despatched my nephew, Giovanni Tiberio Pacca, to awaken the Holy Father, as I had promised to do in case of an alarm in the night-time; and a few moments afterwards I went myself in my dressing-gown into the Holy Father's chamber. The pope immediately got up, and, with the utmost serenity of spirit, dressed himself in his episcopal robe and stole, and going to the apartment where he was in the habit of giving audience, found assembled there Cardinal Despuig, myself, some of the prelates who were inhabitants

of the palace, and several officials and clerks of the secretary of state's office. The assailants had by this time broken with their axes the doors of the pope's suite of apartments, and had arrived at the door of the very chamber where the Holy Father and ourselves were. At this juncture, in order to avoid the chance of some more calamitous result, we caused this last door to be opened. The pope now arose from his seat, and going opposite the table, stood nearly in the middle of the room, while we two cardinals placed ourselves, one on his right hand and the other on his left; and the prelates, officials, and the clerks of the secretary of state's office were on the right and the left of all.

"The door being opened, the first person that entered the room was General Radet, the commanding officer of the enterprise, followed by several French officers, for the most part belonging to the gendarmerie; and last of all came the two or three Roman rebels who had served as guides to the French and had directed them during the escalade. General Radet and the above-mentioned persons having formed line opposite the Holy Father and ourselves, both parties stood face to face for some minutes in perfect silence, equally, as it were, confounded at each other's presence, while no one either uttered a single word or changed his position.

"At length General Radet, pale in the face, with a trembling voice, and hesitating as if he could scarcely find words to express himself, addressed the pope as follows. He said that he had 'a painful and disagreeable duty to perform, but, having sworn fidelity and obedience to the emperor, he was compelled to execute the commission that had been imposed on him, and, consequently, to intimate to His Holiness, on the part of the emperor, that he must renounce the temporal sovereignty of Rome and the Pontifical States; and,' he added, 'in case of the non-compliance of the Holy Father

with the proposal, he had further orders to conduct His Holiness to General Miollis, who would indicate the place of his destination.'

"The pope, without being discomposed, but with an air full of dignity, replied in a firm tone of voice nearly in the following words: 'Since General Radet, by virtue of his oath of fidelity and obedience, considers himself obliged to execute orders of the emperor such as he has undertaken, he may imagine by how much the more we, who are bound by oaths many and various to maintain the rights of the Holy See, are under an obligation to do so. We have not the power to renounce that which does not belong to ourselves, neither are we ourselves otherwise than the administrators of the Roman Church, and of her temporal dominion. This dominion the emperor, from whom, after all we have done for him, we did not expect this treatment, even though he cut our body in pieces, will never obtain from us.'

" 'Holy Father,' replied General Radet, 'I am conscious that the emperor has many obligations to Your Holiness.'

" 'More than you are aware of,' replied the pope, in an excited tone; 'and,' added His Holiness, 'are we to go alone?'

" 'Your Holiness,' said the general, 'may take with you your minister, Cardinal Pacca.'

"Hereupon I, standing close at the side of the pope, immediately replied, addressing myself to His Holiness: 'What orders does the Holy Father please to give me—am I to have the honor of accompanying him?'

"The pope having answered in the affirmative, I requested permission to go to the room adjoining; and there, in the presence of two officers of the gendarmerie who followed me, and now pretended to be looking around at the apartment, I dressed myself in my cardinal's habit, with rocchetto and mozzetta, supposing that we were to be conducted to Gen-

eral Miollis, who was quartered in the Doria Palace, in the Corso. While I was dressing, the pope, with his own hand, made a memorandum of those attendants whom he wished to take with him, and, as was afterwards reported to me, had some conversation with General Radet, who, while His Holiness was engaged in putting some articles in the room in order, having observed: 'Your Holiness need be under no apprehension that anything here will be meddled with'; the pope replied: 'He who sets little value even on his own life has still less regard for his property.'

"On my return to the pope's chamber, I found that he had been already obliged to depart, without even allowing sufficient time for the chamberlains to put the little linen he required for the journey into a portmanteau. Radet would, in fact, have wished the pope to change his dress for a less conspicuous and recognizable costume, but had not the courage to tell him so. I followed and joined His Holiness in another chamber, whence both of us, surrounded by gendarmes, police, and the above-mentioned Roman rebels, making our way with difficulty over the fragments of the broken doors, descended the staircase and crossed the principal court, where the remainder of the troops and police had collected. We then went out through the Great Gate opening upon the Piazza, where we found in readiness the carriage of General Radet, which was a description of vehicle called bastarda; and at the same time we saw in the Piazza a considerable detachment of Neapolitan troops, who, having arrived a few hours before for the special purpose of taking a part in the great enterprise, were drawn up in line. The pope was now desired to get first into the carriage, and afterwards I was bid to follow; and when we were both inside, the Venetian blind, which was on the pope's side, of a description called Persiana, having been previously nailed

down, both doors were fastened with lock and key by a gendarme. General Radet and a Tuscan quartermaster, named Cardini, mounted in front on the dicky, and the order to drive off was given. At this moment a few prelates, officials, clerks of the secretary of state's office, and others of our attendants, who had followed us down-stairs and were not allowed to accompany us to the carriage, stood pale and trembling at the Great Gate of the court.

"General Radet, at starting, instead of proceeding straight towards the Doria Palace, as we expected, directed the carriage to be driven along the Via di Porta Pia, and thence up the road that diverges on the left hand towards the Porta Salaria, by which gate we went out; and thence, making a circuit of the wall by the road that leads parallel outside, we arrived at the Porta del Popolo, which was then closed, as were all the other gates of the city. Along the whole distance thither we met squadrons or pickets of cavalry with drawn sabres, to whose officers General Radet, with the triumphant air of a person who had won a great victory, gave orders as we passed. At the Porta del Popolo we found post-horses in waiting.

"While the horses were being harnessed to the carriage, the pope mildly reproached General Radet 'for his want of veracity in saying that he was about to conduct him to General Miollis'; at the same time he complained of 'the violent treatment he had received in being thus removed from Rome without his suite, and absolutely unprovided with everything, even with clothes other than those he had on his back.'

"The general replied that 'His Holiness's attendants, whose names he had entered in the memorandum, would very speedily join him, and bring with them all the articles he required.' And in the meantime the general, in order to expedite their departure by all the means in his power, in-

stantly despatched a mounted gendarme to the Quirinal; and then, turning to me, observed that 'he felt much satisfaction at having been able to execute his commission so pacifically that not even one single person had been wounded.'

" 'What, then,' said I, 'did you take the palace for a fortress, and expect resistance?'

" 'I was aware,' he replied, 'that Your Eminence had directed your people to make no opposition, and not even to be seen on the Monte Cavallo with a musket in their hand.'

"The pope, a few minutes afterwards, asked me 'whether I had with me any money.'

"To which I replied: 'Your Holiness saw that I was arrested in your own apartments, so that I have had no opportunity of providing myself.'

"We then both of us drew forth our purses, and, notwithstanding the state of affliction we were in at being thus torn away from Rome and all that was dear to us, we could hardly compose our countenances on ascertaining the contents of each purse. In the purse of the pope was one papetto, and in mine were three grossi! Thus the sovereign of Rome and his prime minister set forth upon their journey literally, without figure of speech or metaphor, in true apostolic style, conformable with the precept of our Saviour addressed to the disciples:

" 'Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece' (Luke ix. 3).

"We were without provisions, and we had no garments except those we wore, not even a shirt; and the habits, such as they were, were most inconvenient for travelling; for the pope wore his mozzetta and stole, and I the rocchetto and mozzetta, together with the mantelletta. With regard to money, we had precisely thirty-five baiocchi between us.

"The pope, extending his hand, showed his papetto to Gen-

eral Radet, saying at the same time, 'Look here—this is all I possess, all that remains of my principality.'

"A thought now entered my mind, with reference to effects that might follow, injurious to the good Pius VII, that gave me a great deal of trouble; for I feared that the pope, horrified at the execrable and sacrilegious misdeed that was now in progress, and from the apprehension of the melancholy consequences it might bring to the Church, might in his own heart blame me for having always encouraged him, and might repent of the strong measures we had adopted. I was, however, speedily relieved from my inquietude by a voluntary observation of the pope himself, who, with a smile on his lips, and an air of extreme complacency, addressing himself to me abruptly, said:

" 'What think you now, cardinal? were we right, or were we not right, on the 10th of June, when we signed the bull of excommunication? can you imagine we could possibly have done otherwise?'

"These words, and the manner in which they were delivered, greatly comforted me, and supplied me with new strength to resist the pains of body and sorrow of mind that I foresaw I was doomed to suffer during our troublesome and disastrous journey.

"The same night, in pursuance of orders I gave previous to our departure, the following pathetic address of Pius VII, which may be considered as the farewell of an affectionate father to his beloved children, was secretly placarded on the walls of the city:

" 'Pius, PP. VII, to his Faithful Subjects—his own Beloved Flock:

" 'Amid the troubles that surround us we shed tears of tenderness.

" ' "Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulation" (2 Cor. i. 3, 4).

" 'Seeing that the same calamity has befallen our own person that was announced by his divine Son our Saviour to the Prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, of whom, without any merit of our own, we are the successor:

" ' "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, when thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not" (John xxi. 18).

" 'We well know and declare, not having committed a single act of violence, being at peace with all the world, and having offered up prayers continually for the peaceful reign of all princes, that we cannot lawfully be removed from the city of Rome, our legitimate, pacific place of residence, the capital of our dominions, the special see of our Holy Roman Church, and the universal centre of Catholic unity, of which, by the divine will, we are the supreme head and moderator on earth.

" 'We do, therefore, in real verity, stretch forth our sacerdotal hands in resignation to the force that binds us and carries us whither we would not; declaring, at the same time, the authors of the outrage committed upon us responsible to God for all the consequences; while we, for our part, only desire, advise, and command our faithful subjects, our own flock of Rome, as well as the universal flock of the Catholic Church, earnestly to follow the example of the faithful of the first century, by whom, while Peter was kept in prison:

" ' "Prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him" (Acts xii. 5).

" 'Successor, unworthy as we are, of that glorious apostle,

we feel confident that all our loving children will perform this pious and perhaps last act of duty to their affectionate and common father; and we, in recompense, with the most earnest effusion of our heart, bestow on them our apostolic benediction.

" 'Given at our palace of the Quirinal, 6th July, 1809.

" 'Pius, PP. VII.' "

Cardinal Pacca thus describes the commencement of the pope's melancholy journey:

"At about eight o'clock, Italian time, our carriage left the Porta del Popolo, and we took the road to Tuscany. At the first relays in the Campagna we could perceive, while we changed horses, on the countenances of the few persons whom we saw there, an expression of vacancy and sorrow, that was evidently occasioned by the spectacle then before their eyes; and on passing through Monterosi several women who were standing at the doors of the houses, so soon as they recognized the pope carried away in the carriage like a prisoner, accompanied by gendarmes with drawn sabres, following the example of tender compassion of the women of Jerusalem, 'bewailed and lamented him' (Luke xxiii. 27), and beating their breasts, weeping, and stretching out their arms towards the vehicle, began to scream out:

" 'They are carrying away the Holy Father! they are carrying away the Holy Father!'

"We were much affected by this demonstration of their sympathy, of which, however, the result was far from advantageous; for General Radet, apprehensive that the sight of the pope taken off in such a manner might, in the more populous parts of the country, excite a tumult among the inhabitants, requested His Holiness to allow all the blinds to be let down, in order that his person might not be recognized. The

Holy Father gave his consent with the most pious resignation, and we continued for the rest of that day's journey close shut up in the carriage, through the hottest hours, under a roasting Italian sun in July, almost in want of sufficient air for respiration. About noon, the pope having expressed a desire to take some refreshment, General Radet caused the carriage to halt at the post-house, situated in a lonely spot in the mountains near Viterbo, where, in a miserable room, that contained only one old broken chair, the only one in the house probably, the pope, seating himself at a table covered with an extremely dirty table-cloth, ate an egg and a slice of ham. We then continued our journey, which was painful in the highest degree, owing to the excessive heat. Towards evening the pope was thirsty, and as we were not then in the neighborhood of any house, the quartermaster Cardini filled a bottle from the stream that ran on the roadside, and brought it to the Holy Father, who drank, and was refreshed exceedingly. Through all the different places we passed, nobody had now any idea that the pope was in the carriage.

"After a hard journey of nineteen hours, during which the pope suffered severely, and frequently complained to me on the way—though at that time I was not aware of one complaint that afflicted him, and which was considerably increased by the motion of the vehicle—we arrived at about three o'clock, Italian time, or an hour before midnight, at a small mountain inn at Radicofani, where, as we had no clothes to change, our linen—bathed in perspiration as we were, and under a cold temperature, for there the air is continually cold, even in the middle of the summer—dried on our backs. When we entered the inn, nothing at all was ready. The pope was conducted to a very small chamber; I was consigned to another close adjoining, and gendarmes were placed sentries at our doors. Having first gone into

the pope's chamber, there, dressed in my cardinal's habit, with the rocchetto and mozzetta just as I had left Rome, I assisted the maid-servant of the house to make His Holiness's bed, and afterwards to lay the table-cloth for supper. At our frugal repast, the Holy Father, whom I waited upon, had the complaisance to invite me to sit at the table with himself, though for my own part I can truly say that now, during supper, as well as through the whole day's journey, I used my utmost endeavors to comfort the spirit of the Holy Father, and be to him the 'faithful messenger' mentioned in the Holy Scriptures—'who, as the cold of snow in the time of harvest, refresheth the soul of his master' (Proverbs xxv. 13). Moreover, notwithstanding the melancholy prospect before me, the Lord preserved my hilarity of spirit and natural gaiety of heart to such a degree that soon after our arrival at Radicofani I received much satisfaction in being told by General Radet that he had frequently observed a smile on the pope's countenance at what I was saying to him. I felt, therefore, comforted and consoled by the reflection that I had been selected by Providence as the Cyrenean of the worthy persecuted pontiff, under the horrible circumstances in which we were placed.

"When supper was over, the Holy Father, having lain down, without undressing, on a hard, uncomfortable bed, I retired to the chamber assigned to myself, and there gave way to the melancholy reflection of having left, without assistance, among strangers, and in a retired spot in the country, my sovereign and the visible head of the Church, alone and infirm as he was.

"Not even once did the pope either show the smallest sign of displeasure or utter a single word expressive of repentance with regard to the strong measures which had been adopted against Napoleon and the French government; on the con-

trary, he displayed a surprising degree of energy and fortitude—so much so, indeed, that in holding conversation occasionally with General Radet, although he always addressed the general in a manner consistent with the dignity of a sovereign, his voice at times assumed such a tone of asperity that I felt it my duty humbly to beseech him to moderate his feelings and resume his naturally gentle and benevolent character.

"General Radet, having the most pressing instructions from his government (from Milan probably) to conduct the pope to the Carthusian convent near Florence [Certosa di Firenze] on the same day, the 7th, was consequently anxious to depart immediately after breakfast; while the Holy Father, on the contrary, wrought to a considerable state of excitement, resolutely declared 'he would not stir from the spot before the arrival of his attendants and servants from Rome.'

"He was absolutely, he said, unprovided with everything; and he felt persuaded that if we continued to travel as we had done the day before, they would not overtake us at all.

"Fortunately, to the pope's great satisfaction, a part of the suite of His Holiness, who had left Rome the day before, arrived at Radicofani in two carriages. Our party now consisted of Monsignor Doria, master of the bedchamber, Monsignor Pacca, Don Giovanni Soglia, private chaplain, the surgeon Ceccarini, Joseph Moiraga, adjutant of the bedchamber, a cook, and a groom.

"Between twenty-two and twenty-three o'clock we left Radicofani, and had only proceeded a little distance when we encountered a crowd of people, who, in consequence of not being allowed to approach nearer the inn, had collected in the road. Here General Radet allowed the carriage to halt, and permitted every one of those who were assembled to ad-

vance and receive the pope's benediction; while a few even came close enough to kiss his hand. I cannot adequately express the fervent, tender devotion of these good people's behavior to His Holiness, which, as a similar feeling was exhibited by the entire population of the part of Tuscany through which we passed, it becomes my duty to record. We travelled all night, and about daybreak on the morning of the 8th arrived at the gates of Sienna, where post-horses were waiting outside the city under a strong escort of gendarmes. General Radet did not conceal from the pope the fact that he had been obliged to use these precautions for fear of a riot taking place among the inhabitants of Sienna on our appearance; and he added that they had only a few days before shown their ill humor on seeing Monsignor Patriarcha Ferraja, vice-regent of Rome, escorted through the city by gendarmes. Hence we pursued our journey to Poggibonzi, where General Radet allowed us to halt during the hottest hours of the day; we stopped at the inn accordingly, but were obliged to remain shut up in the carriage for not less than twenty minutes, because the officer of gendarmes, who had the key of the carriage door in his pocket, had remained behind with the other vehicles. So soon as we entered the inn, General Radet introduced a great many persons to the pope, who, females almost exclusively, kissed the foot and the hand of His Holiness.

"After resting at Poggibonzi, we departed three hours after midday, and took the road towards Florence, making our way through an immense crowd of people who had collected, and, exhibiting extraordinary signs of fervent devotion, were crying aloud for the apostolic benediction. Being at this time but a short distance from the inn, the postilions, either owing to carelessness or awkwardness, or perhaps on account of their being hurried into a gallop by General Radet

for the purpose of getting clear of the people, not paying sufficient attention to the unevenness of the ground, suffered one of the wheels of the carriage to get upon the bank, so that our vehicle was overturned with great force, and fell into the middle of the road. The seat was broken to pieces, and the Holy Father and myself were thrown one upon the other, the pope undermost, though we were relieved in a few seconds from our unpleasant position by several of the crowd, who, while others were screaming and calling out 'Holy Father! Holy Father!' lifted the carriage on its wheels in an instant. A gendarme now opened the door, which was fastened with lock and key, while his companions, with pale, terrified countenances, had much ado even with their drawn sabres to keep the people at a distance. The moment the Holy Father got out of the carriage he was received in the arms of the multitude, who all at once rushed towards him, some prostrating themselves on their faces on the ground, others kissing his feet, and a few contenting themselves with touching his garments with an air of respect, as if every thread were a sacred relic; all, however, were most anxious in their inquiries whether he had suffered injury. The Holy Father, with a smile on his lips, thanked them for their affectionate attentions, speaking almost in a jocular manner of the accident; while I, as the people were becoming irritated against the gendarmes, and were calling them by the opprobrious name 'Cani! cani!' (dogs), fearing, as the gendarmes were few in number, there might be attempted a rescue that might lead to fatal consequences, threw myself into the middle of the crowd, and exclaimed in a loud voice that, 'thanks to Heaven, no harm had happened, and I entreated every human being present to remain quiet and peaceable.'

"The tumult caused great alarm to General Radet and the gendarmes, but soon subsided; and then the Holy Father

and myself got into the wretched little carriage of Monsignor Doria, and we pursued our journey.

"The good Tuscan people in like manner, wherever we stopped, besought the benediction of the Holy Father with tears and exclamations, and in spite of the gendarmes, who did all they could to keep them off with their sabres, pressed forward close to the carriage for the purpose of kissing his hands; invariably manifesting an expression of feeling on seeing him in the state he was in, that created a touching spectacle.

"At about one o'clock, Italian time, having arrived at the Certosa di Firenze, Monsieur le Crosnier, colonel of gendarmerie, and one Piamonti, commissary of police, came to the door to receive the pope; but no other person, except the prior of the convent, was suffered to approach and pay their compliments to the Holy Father; the friars especially were extraordinarily vexed at finding themselves surrounded by gendarmes and officers of the police, who, under the pretext of treating them with polite attention, continually watched their motions. The persons above mentioned conducted the pope to the apartment ready prepared for him, being the identical room in which, ten years before, the immortal Pius VI was detained, as it were a hostage. General Radet then assured us that, as there had not yet arrived an order to proceed on our journey, we might not only make up our minds to a quiet night's repose, but to a halt the next day also, which fell on Sunday. With this pleasing illusion, after a magnificent supper, I retired to the chamber assigned to me, feeling really glad at the idea of rest, desirous of refreshing myself, and anxious to recover by undisturbed repose the sleep lost in the three preceding nights.

"I had, however, been hardly three hours in bed, when I was awakened from the depth of sleep, and informed that a

colonel had arrived from Florence, who had been sent hither by the Grand Duchess Elisa, and that he insisted upon the pope and all of us getting up immediately. It was also stated to me that the said colonel had brought a carriage for the purpose of conveying His Holiness from the Certosa, they knew not whither. Neither would he allow us time to celebrate, or even hear, a portion of the Mass previous to our departure. My senses were confounded at the announcement, and, agitated by a thousand conflicting thoughts, I arose in haste, and going towards the apartment where the Holy Father lay, I met the colonel above mentioned, whose name was Mariotti, accompanied by a colonel of the gendarmes. Both these officers confirmed the information I had already received as to the destination of the pope; and with regard to myself, I was now further informed that I was not to be allowed to accompany the Holy Father, but that I was to be conducted by an officer of the gendarmerie by the Bologna road to Alessandria, at which latter place, they said, I should rejoin His Holiness. I immediately proceeded to his apartment, where I found him suffering all the symptoms of deep affliction, in the state of a man overcome, in the truest sense of the expression, by the most profound sorrow. His face was actually livid. So soon as he saw me, he said: 'I see plainly all these outrages are committed with the design to kill me; neither shall I be able to sustain my life much longer.' I did all I could to console him, though I myself had serious need of a comforter; and I communicated to him the intimation that had been made to me of being separated from his sacred person; with which news, by all he had the kindness to express, he seemed penetrated very deeply. I had no opportunity to say any more, before our conversation was interrupted by Mariotti, who forthwith compelled the Holy Father to take his departure, so that I

had only time to follow him to the carriage; and then, feeling myself deeply affected, I retired to my own chamber."

The pope was hurried off so abruptly that he had barely time to ask the prior of the Carthusians for a breviary. He was accompanied by Monsignori Doria, Soglia, Joseph Moiraga, and the French officer named Mariotti. He reached Alessandria on the 15th, guarded very rigorously. Yet on the way crowds of the peasantry assembled to ask his blessing, and the French jailer was compelled at times to stop. At one place he asked for a drink of water, and all pressed around with water and refreshments. One peasant, handing in some fine fruit, whispered: "Vuole? dica!" ("Do you wish it? Say the word!") At a word from Pius, those bearing him off would have been scattered like chaff, but he earnestly begged the people to make no resistance. So rudely was he carried along that not even his baggage accompanied him, and the successor of Saint Peter had to solicit the charity of necessary underclothing.

Three miles from Genoa, at a villa called Castagna, a new jailer named Boisard received the prisoners. The pope was placed in one litter and Monsignor Doria in another; the rest of the suite were ordered to proceed on foot to the shore, where they entered a felucca and at daybreak reached San Pietro della Arena, whence they proceeded to Alessandria. After three days' stay there, Pius VII, still suffering from a nervous fever, was conducted to Grenoble, where all came forth to seek his blessing. The garrison of Saragossa, here confined as prisoners, asked to be led to the pope, and received his benediction with true Spanish devotion.

The pope was here treated with less rigor, though closely guarded. An offer of a carriage was declined, unless to return to Rome. A garden was assigned for his reception of those who came to salute him, but the Bishop of Grenoble

was always excluded. Even the vicars-general of Cardinal Fesch came to offer their homage to His Holiness and aid him with money.

After a short stay at Grenoble, the pope was conveyed to Valence and then to Avignon, where the people, so long subject to the popes, manifested the utmost enthusiasm. It was with difficulty that his jailers could convey him through the excited multitudes. When they reached the bridge of Var to enter Nice, the pope descended from his carriage. Beyond the bridge the pious Queen of Etruria knelt between her two children to receive his blessing. "What a change!" she exclaimed. "All is not bitterness," replied the Holy Father; "we are not, my daughter, either at Florence or Rome. But behold this people; hear their transports." Behind her were ecclesiastics in regular order, nobles with their decorations, the people in neat attire; ten thousand kneeling in silence to receive the blessing of a captive pope, before he passed through flower-strewn streets to his place of confinement.

Alarmed at this reception, his jailer took by-paths, but the people, following the example of a pious lady, lined the wayside trees with lanterns. At last Pius VII reached Savona, and, after being placed a few days in a private house, was removed to the residence of the bishop, who was ordered to vacate it.

Napoleon, flushed with victory, returned to Fontainebleau on the 26th of October, 1809, and one of his first cares was the position of the Holy Father, and his relations to him. He did not disavow any of the atrocities performed by his subordinates; he accepted them all, and by a senatus consultum of February 7, 1810, formally united the Roman States to the empire.

A despatch from the prefect of Montenotte gave an ac-

count of the pope's views. "We have sworn," says Pius VII, "to defend our temporal power up to the effusion of blood, and having none but spiritual arms, had to use them as our predecessors did. No one of them was ever reduced to the same position as ourselves. Dissensions arose, Clement VII suffered, but they were arranged in a few months, and this lasts for years. The whole Sacred College has been dispersed; we have been torn from our palace. These violences are intolerable, and require a reparation to the Holy See. If His Majesty will give way in nothing, things will positively long remain in this state. Long is saying too much, because we are old. Our successor will, perhaps, be able to arrange them. We will leave that care to him. Experience," he said, "had taught him, and he was but too well aware that sacrifices went for nothing; that those he had already made should have secured him repose, were that possible; that he now saw too well by the past that the object was religion; unable to attack it in front because it was too difficult, they attacked it in flank; the parish priests were everywhere reduced to the smallest pension, the parishes and bishoprics were too large for a single man; that the priests of paganism had never been so dependent; that they wished to make the pope a pope of the French, but that, amid all these schemes, none but God could save his Church."

Meanwhile, at Rome, the French police, on the 1st of January, 1810, seized all the archives of the tribunals and ecclesiastical congregations. The papers of the Penitentiary were transferred to the Dataria, and the officers dismissed. Seals were placed on everything belonging to the Holy See. The pontifical seals, and especially the fisherman's ring, left by Pius VII in the hands of Monsignor de Gregorio to expedite some bulls and briefs, were seized, and the last used by Radet to seal documents. No cardinal was now left in Rome except Cardinal Casoni.

Cardinal Pacca was imprisoned at Fenestrelle; Cardinal Antonelli, dean of the Sacred College, having been removed by force from Rome the year before, was sent to Spoleto, whence he was subsequently transferred to Sinigaglia, and died there in exile; Cardinal Casoni, in consideration of bodily ailments, was permitted to remain in Rome; and to Cardinal Caraffa, who was infirm and an octogenarian, leave was granted, as a special mark of indulgence, to reside in Tolentino, whence subsequently he was removed to Mont' Alboddo. Cardinal Braschi, being grievously tormented with the gout, was suffered to reside in Cesena; and Cardinal della Porta, having fallen sick on the journey, was laid up at Florence, and very soon afterwards died there. Cardinal Crivelli was sent to Milan, and Cardinal Carandini to Modena. The two Neapolitan cardinals, Caracciolo and Firrao, were both exempted from deportation; as regards the first, in consequence of illness, and as regards the other, on account of his accepting the office of almoner of the new King of Naples. Cardinal Locatelli, Bishop of Spoleto, procured the indulgence of quiet and retirement by performing certain acts of condescension, that may be excused by the continual state of weakness of his physical frame and his habitual infirmities.

With the above exceptions, all the Italian cardinals were conducted to Paris, where the disturber of the Church, obliging them to appear at court, appeared to take particular pleasure in making them a public spectacle for his own amusement, twitting them before his courtiers, and taking every possible opportunity of mortifying them, by censuring their own or the pope's private conduct, and speaking jestingly of the bull of excommunication that the pope had fulminated against himself.

Such was the position of the court of Rome—the Holy Father a prisoner, deprived of everything, cut off from his

counsellors, the cardinals scattered or imprisoned. As the Church throughout the world became aware of this, it was at once perceived how great danger existed of the pontiff's being driven by ill treatment or violence to consent to or sign acts which at liberty he had indignantly repelled. Nay, with the unscrupulous infidel party, whose ideas now seemed to prevail, there was ground to fear actual forgery.

The Catholic bishops in the United States issued a protest which may serve as a view of the general feeling of the Church. In it they declined to consider as valid any act of the pope while restrained of his freedom.

Meanwhile, Napoleon proposed to marry the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, and resolved to divorce Josephine. He knew too well the firmness of the pope to apply to him to annul a marriage celebrated by Cardinal Fesch with full though unwritten dispensations. Napoleon, apparently with ulterior views, had insisted on the secrecy of the marriage, and now made it a ground of nullity. He created an ecclesiastical court, in which, Josephine making no defence, and Cardinal Fesch's dispensations not appearing in evidence, the marriage was adjudged void.

The newly projected marriage induced Napoleon to consent that the Chevalier de Lebzeltern, an Austrian envoy, should visit the pope. When he spoke to the sovereign pontiff of the embarrassment of the bishops, and of the imminent dangers that threatened the Church and the Holy See if he did not endeavor to extricate himself from the state of inactivity and nullity in which he was, Pius VII replied: "We have foreseen them all; it is the only thought that occupies our mind. This interruption of all relations with foreign clergy, the difficulty of our communication with French bishops even, are the subject of our deepest grief. Although detained here, without free correspondence, without news,

except the vague items we glean from occasional numbers of the Moniteur which the general sends us, we have well conceived the embarrassment of the bishops. We have accordingly never ceased complaining to the latter of our situation in this respect. It is a perfect schism de facto. We ask nothing for ourselves from the emperor; we have nothing to lose. We have sacrificed all to our duty. We are old, without needs. What personal consideration, then, could divert us from the path which our duty and conscience prescribe, or make us desire aught for ourselves? We wish no pension, we wish no honors; the alms of the faithful will suffice. There have been popes poorer than we, and we think of nothing beyond the narrow circuit where you see us; but we ardently desire that our communications be re-established with the bishops and the faithful. It suffices that the applications of these latter reach us freely, and that we have the means of exercising our functions. We have constantly told General Berthier: Do not leave us alone—and we are so completely isolated that we have had to make a secretary of a domestic whose handwriting was legible. Do not prevent our fulfilling our spiritual ministry by absolute want of the necessary individuals, and because the access of the faithful to us is not free. We have done what depended on us, having alone issued more than five hundred dispensations, and assisting with all our means the bishops of the French empire, whose petitions reached us. But not only does physical strength fail us, but there are matters that need examination and discussion; and there are formulas to be observed—strange indeed, yet necessary—as to which we understand nothing."

On the 2d of April Napoleon married the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The cardinals residing in Paris, and in health, were all invited to be present at the ceremony. They

had all, to the number of twenty-six, witnessed the civil marriage at Saint Cloud, but it was not so in regard to the religious ceremony the next day.

Several of the cardinals, therefore, in the instance of Bonaparte's marriage with the Archduchess of Austria, and with reference to the conduct of the Paris authorities in daring to decide, by their own exclusive judgment, an affair of such importance, considered the act to be an infringement of the rights of the Holy See, and consequently abstained from attending the ceremony of the nuptials. Thirteen omitted to make their appearance on that occasion. All the other cardinals were present at both the functions, though the emperor was less gratified by their presence than he was irritated at the absence of the remainder; which act of contumacy, conjecturing as he did at once the cause of their non-attendance, galled him to the quick. The thirteen cardinals were very soon made to suffer the penalty of their transgression, and every one in consequence received an order prohibiting him from displaying the insignia of the rank of a cardinal, or appearing in public dressed otherwise than in plain black clothes; from which regulation arose the titles distinctive of the two classes, recusant and non-recusant—viz., cardinali neri and cardinali rossi (black cardinals and red cardinals). Moreover, the cardinali neri were forthwith mulcted of the pension that the government had accorded to them in lieu of the ecclesiastical emoluments of which they had been deprived.

The pension above referred to, assigned to the cardinals summoned to Paris by the emperor, in compensation for their income and emoluments, amounted to an annual payment of thirty thousand francs. Not a few, and for the most part those who had less need than many others, accepted and received it regularly until the fall of Napoleon. Some, considering it to be given in recompense for the

Church property they had been deprived of in Italy, accepted it like the persons above mentioned, but, after the lapse of a few months, becoming better acquainted with the Holy Father's opinion on the subject, refused to receive it any longer. Some, from the very beginning when the offer was first made to them, generously declined. All the thirteen cardinals were soon afterwards dismissed from Paris, and banished to different cities of the neighboring provinces.

Meanwhile the greater number of the cardinals who suffered exile were supported by the voluntary oblations of generous hearts that compassioned their condition and made collections for their relief. The pope himself was under the necessity of having recourse to the charity and gratuitous offerings of the faithful, which even tyranny was unable to prevent reaching him; nay, on the contrary, tyranny itself was shamed by its own weakness, on observing the increasing sentiment of devotion and respect exhibited by religious, sympathetic minds, and the offering up of prayers by the whole Church for the captive pontiff, as was done for Saint Peter in the early days of Christianity. At the same time Rome was groaning under the yoke of the usurper, and instead of her mild paternal government reigned violence and confusion; the prelates and heads of religious orders, and the official functionaries, were driven from their posts, if not conducted to France; the tribunals were dissolved; the congregations suppressed; the ecclesiastical archives transported at a heavy expense to Paris; the insignia of the pontifical dignity annihilated; and, finally, the ring of the fisherman was taken and preserved as a trophy.

At Rome the oath was proposed to the bishops in the Pontifical States. The Bishop of Tivoli yielded; but those of Amelia, Aquapendente, Civita Castellana, Assisi, Nocera, Foligno, Sezza and Terracina, Sutri and Nepi, Todi, Orvieto,

and Narni, refused. The French did not attempt to enforce it with the parish priests, as they would all have refused.

On the 21st of July Cardinal Caprara died at Paris. The pope was no longer satisfied with his conduct, and on the 26th of August previous, shortly after his arrival at Savona, he addressed him a letter, which reached him only after great delay. After enumerating all the wrongs done the Church, the unyielding pope said to this cardinal, dazzled by the glory of Bonaparte: "Weigh these facts yourself in the scales of the sanctuary, and not in those of human prudence. If His Majesty wishes peace, let him restore to us our see, our ministers; and let him restore to the Apostolic See its States, constituting the Patrimony of Saint Peter, and not ours; to the faithful, the inviolable right of free communication with their Father and supreme pastor, of whom captivity deprives them. Let him permit the cardinals to return to us; let him restore bishops to their flocks, and then the desired harmony will be restored. Yet, amid the disasters of our horrible situation, we cease not to pray God, who holds in his hands the heart of men, for him even who is the author of so many evils; and we shall deem all our suffering overmuch rewarded if it please the Almighty to recall him to better ways. If, in the hidden judgment of God, this is not to be, we shall the more deplore in heart all the evils to ensue, and which no one can, in justice, impute to us."

In 1810 nineteen French bishops addressed a joint letter to the Holy Father, in which, under pretext of seeking an amplification of the powers granted them for matrimonial dispensations, they renewed the request for the confirmation of the nominations to episcopal sees, with expressions which were regarded at Savona as a threat to provide for the preservation of the Church of France by itself, if abandoned by the pope. Of the many rights of the Holy See, here was

left only the right of confirming and canonically instituting bishops. Then the pope, to obviate this danger, on the 5th of November, 1810, sent to Cardinal Maury, nominated by Napoleon Archbishop of Paris on the refusal of Cardinal Fesch, and, on the 2d of December, to Averado Corboli, archdeacon of Florence, whose see Napoleon had given to the Bishop of Nancy, and, on the 18th of December, to D'Astros, vicar capitular of the Church of Paris, briefs firmly declaring that any institution by bishops was null. Napoleon took offence; he wished to uphold his prejudices in favor of the clergy who supported his views and rigors, against those who honestly opposed them.

Mr. Emery, alone in the councils of Napoleon, endeavored to lead the emperor to a just course. Excited by the evil-minded around him, Napoleon ordered vigorous measures against some cardinals, as he could not yet proceed further against the pope. Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Opizzoni were transported to Vincennes, together with the courageous prelate, De Gregorio, and Fontana, the general of the Barnabites. Doria, a prelate who had clung devotedly to the pope, was banished to Naples. Some other old attendants were sent to Fenestrelle. These men who cried liberality and freedom could now counsel only blackness, perfidy, and perjury; they could speak only of prisons, fetters, and dungeons. Let us say it once and for all. Modern liberalism has an intense hatred of Catholicism; it deems anything and everything permitted to overthrow it. Any other denomination may be free—the Catholic must be in fetters. Every ecclesiastical organization is to be respected except the Catholic.

Napoleon found other means to insult the Holy Father. The following details are given by Moiraga. An order came from Paris to examine the pope's papers. Every scrap of

paper bearing any signs of writing was put under seal. On the 7th of January, while walking in his little garden, thinking of anything but an assault on his apartments, his rooms were examined with the most scrupulous care. All his despatches were examined; his breviaries and Little Office of the Blessed Virgin were carried off. When Pius VII was informed of this rigorous visit, he heard it with his ordinary meekness, and made no complaint. He simply said: "And the Office of the Blessed Virgin, and our breviaries also? It is just!" Count Berthier, governor of His Holiness's palace, disappeared. An intendant, fit tool of a tyrant, informed them that each Italian, including the pope, should receive only five paoli a day.

This absurd and ridiculous order was enforced only two weeks, because the people of Savona sent provisions to the pope and his retinue. Moiraga had several precious objects confided to him by the pope, which, by a sort of instinct, he insisted on handing back. He was soon after carried off to Fenestrelle.

Insolence was next to be carried to its height. They had the pope as a prisoner of war—a captive monarch. They treated him as though he had been convicted of felony in some petty court of France. Napoleon was giving precedents for Saint Helena, and justifying, in advance, any and every treatment that could be inflicted on him.

One day the following order was handed to the pope:

"The undersigned, in accordance with orders emanating from his sovereign, His Imperial and Royal Majesty, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation, etc., is directed to notify Pope Pius VII that he is forbidden to communicate with any church of the empire, or any subject of the emperor, under penalty of disobe-

dience on his part and theirs; that he cease to be the organ of the Catholic Church—he who preaches rebellion, and whose soul is full of gall; that, since nothing will make him well behaved, he shall see that His Majesty is powerful enough to do what his predecessors have done, and depose a pope.

"Chabrol.

"Savona, July 14, 1811."

Such a document shows how completely Napoleon forgot that the Catholics of France are, after all, a very small part of the Catholic world, and that the monarch who represented them, as he represented French Protestants and French Jews, had really, in fact, a very small part in discussing the general affairs of Catholicism, and no right whatever to arrogate that he had all to say, and that he was the supreme arbiter in matters as to which he was personally ignorant.

The emperor, having thus forbidden the pope to hold any intercourse with the French bishops, assembled a committee to consider what was to be done in regard to dispensations, intercourse with the Holy Father being interrupted; and also how canonical institution was to be given to the bishops, if the pope persisted in refusing confirmation. This committee, which might have answered, "Set the pope free," was composed of Cardinals Fesch, Maury, Caselli, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the bishops of Nantes, Treves, Evreux, Vercelli, Mr. Emery, and Father Fontana, the last attending only three meetings. It replied, by a majority, that the Church of France should provide for its preservation. The emperor consequently convened the cardinals, bishops, and all who composed his council. At the outset, Bigot de Préameneu, minister of worship, introduced propositions subversive of all the authority of the Holy See. But Mr.

Emery, the famous Sulpitian, and, it would seem, the only thorough Catholic near the emperor, wrote to Cardinal Fesch that Bigot's ideas could not be yielded to without destroying the Church. Cardinal Fesch accordingly went to Napoleon and made earnest remonstrance. "The bishops," said he, "will resist to a man, and you will make martyrs."

Napoleon wavered, but the false counsellors soon did away with the impression made. The cardinals, bishops, and others were suddenly summoned to meet the emperor in the latter part of March, 1811. Napoleon kept them waiting two hours, and then entered with great pomp. He immediately launched forth in a series of invectives against the pope. Although his address was a tissue of false principles, false and distorted statements of facts, atrocious calumnies, maxims totally subversive of Catholic doctrine, not one of the cardinals or bishops present raised his voice to testify to the truth. It is humiliating to state so plainly the weakness of a body generally so intrepid. When Napoleon ended, he looked around, and said to Mr. Emery, who had come reluctantly, "What do you think of the pope's authority?" Mr. Emery looked around to the bishops, as if asking their permission to represent them, and then replied: "Sire, I can have no opinion on that point but what is contained in the catechism taught by your orders in all the churches. To the question, 'What is the pope?' the answer is: 'He is the head of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom all Christians owe obedience.' Now, can a body exist without its head—without him to whom, of divine right, it owes obedience?"

Napoleon seemed to be taken aback by this simple and conclusive argument, but, as he remained silent, Mr. Emery continued: "We are forced in France to uphold the four articles of the Declaration of the Clergy, but the doctrine must

be received entire. Now, the preamble of that declaration affirms that the pope is the head of the Church, to whom all Christians owe obedience; and, moreover, it is added that these four articles, decreed by the Assembly, are not passed so much to limit the power of the pope, as to prevent the not conceding to him what is essential." He then developed the four articles, showing that they recognized in the pope an authority so great and universal that it could not be dispensed with in the Church. Mr. Emery then declared that, if a council was held, it would have no force, being disjoined from the pope.

In reply to a question of Napoleon, who saw himself beaten on this point, Mr. Emery said that the pope would not give up his right of instituting bishops, as some of the French bishops suggested. Before the interview closed he asked a bishop: "Is Mr. Emery's definition from the catechism true?" And the bishop having answered affirmatively, Napoleon retired. Unfortunately, Mr. Emery, who alone, at this juncture, seemed courageous enough to speak the truth, soon after fell sick and died.

Napoleon next convened a national council of the bishops of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy. It met on the 17th of June, 1811, and Cardinal Fesch was declared president. This council had pretended to decide that sees should not be vacant more than a year; that, six months after the application to the pope for institution, if he did not consent, the metropolitan, or, in case of vacancy, the senior bishop of the province, should proceed to institute the bishop-elect.

Several bishops had been sent to Savona in May, and had obtained some concessions from the pope, who here first gave way. It was now resolved to send some of the pliant cardinals to confirm the pope in the ideas of obedience to which the French government sought to reduce him. With

the emperor's permission, Cardinals Joseph Doria, Anthony Dugnani, Anthony Roverella, Fabricius Ruffo, and de Bayanne were chosen. They promised to induce the pope to let matters be arranged, as is evident from documents found among Cardinal Roverella's papers after his death. With these cardinals were associated Bertazzoli, Archbishop of Edessa, and several French bishops.

The true faithful, who knew the suffering state to which the captive pontiff had been reduced, looked with undisguised alarm at the mission of these false friends and treacherous counsellors, who reached Savona early in September.

Meanwhile the English, who had endeavored to prevent the pope's visit to France in 1804, and had ineffectually endeavored to rescue him when held a prisoner at Rome, now secretly informed Pius VII that a frigate cruising near Savona would, on a given signal, approach and deliver him from his captivity. But his jailers redoubled their vigilance and precautions, and escape became impossible. Some attributed these plans of escape to the French police, who hoped to bring about a struggle by which the pope might be slain.

Roverella was a dictatorial man, whose views were implicitly followed by Bertazzoli and Cardinals Doria and Dugnani. Cardinal de Bayanne acted for his government. Ruffo, an able executive man, was neither a theologian nor a canonist, more versed in military affairs than in bulls and briefs. The negotiation was what might have been expected. The pope felt bound by his first false step—his promise to the deputation. Surrounded by agents of the tyrant, who predicted to him unnumbered woes caused solely by his resistance, he not only permitted bulls of confirmation to be sent with the old formulas to different bishops, but also approved and confirmed, by a brief then printed, the decrees

of the council held at Paris. In this extraordinary brief, of which Cardinal Roverella was the principal author, the pope, in the first place, recognized what had been done at Paris, without his sanction or the presence of a legate; and, moreover, what was unheard of, he expressed his joy at it as a happy event, and accepted the decree as a new testimony of the filial devotion of the Gallican Church to the see of Peter.

The French bishops at once despatched news of their victory to Paris, but were astonished to hear that the emperor would not accept the brief. The concessions, great as they were, were not enough; and the captive pontiff was not to regain his liberty on such easy terms.

The next winter and spring passed quietly at Savona. Napoleon was too busy with his Russian campaign to continue his war on the aged man who alone braved his anger. On the 9th of June, 1812, Pope Pius VII was suddenly ordered to change his dress, so as to conceal his dignity, and prepare for a journey to Paris. He set out on the next morning. After a painful journey without any respite, he reached the hospice of Mont-Cenis at midnight. At Stupinigi, near Turin, Monsignor Bertazzoli, whom the government had sent, entered his carriage, and continued with him to the end of the journey. At the hospice the pope fell so dangerously ill that the officers who escorted him sent to the government at Turin to ask whether they should stop or carry their prisoner on. They were ordered to carry out their instructions. Consequently, the pope, who had received the Holy Viaticum on the morning of the 14th, was compelled to resume his journey on the following night. But this infirm pontiff was to show, amid these outrages, a constitution proof against the most savage barbarities. They travelled night and day. On the 20th of June, in the morning, the pope reached Fontainebleau; but, as no orders had been received

to admit him, he was taken to a neighboring house. During this transit across France, Pius VII was never allowed to leave the carriage; food was taken to him there, and he was kept under lock and key in the vehicle in the smaller towns while the horses were changed.

Cardinal Pacca attributes the treatment of the pope to a desire to reduce him to such a state of incapacity as to make him a fit tool in the hands of the emperor's creatures.

Pope Pius VII reached Fontainebleau in a most critical state, and was confined to his bed for several weeks. But though a prisoner in his rooms, he had a bed, and could breathe more freely than in his dungeon coach. He had been able, too, to assume the dress becoming his rank.

The red cardinals were then permitted to approach the pope, or rather were sent to mould him to the tyrant's wishes. They represented to him the truly deplorable state of the Church, which might, they said, be called headless, as the faithful were no longer allowed to communicate with their supreme head, nor he to exercise his apostolic ministry. They described the no less unhappy state of Rome, almost deprived of its clergy, as well as the difficulty experienced in other nations. They exaggerated the dangers of a schism if things continued as they were. They depicted the power of the infidel party in France, to which Napoleon had to yield; they spoke of the exile of the black cardinals. Thus they made a deep impression on the mind of an aged man, broken by years, by sickness, and by a harsh treatment equalled only by that of the galley-slaves.

The Russian campaign gave Napoleon an answer to his mockery. He had asked Eugene Beauharnais: "Will his excommunication make the muskets fall from the hands of my soldiers?" And he had seen them fall. "They did not

cast them down," says Ségur; "hunger and cold wrested them from them." "They fell from the bravest hands," says Salgues; "arms fell from the icy hands that bore them."

Even Protestant writers acknowledged the striking result. Alison says:

" 'What does the pope mean,' said Napoleon to Eugene, in July, 1807, 'by the threat of excommunicating me? Does he think the world has gone back a thousand years? Does he suppose that the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?' Within two years after these remarkable words were written the pope did excommunicate him, in return for the confiscation of his whole dominions; and in less than four years more the arms did fall from the hands of his soldiers; and the hosts, apparently invincible, which he had collected, were dispersed and ruined by the blasts of winter. He extorted from the supreme pontiff at Fontainebleau, in 1813, by the terrors and exhaustion of a long captivity, a renunciation of the rights of the Church over the Roman States; and within a year after he himself was compelled, at Fontainebleau, to sign the abdication of all his dominions. He consigned Cardinal Pacca and several other prelates, the courageous counsellors of the bull of excommunication, to a dreary imprisonment of four years amid the snows of the Alps; and he himself was shortly after doomed to a painful exile of six on the rock of Saint Helena. There is something in these marvellous coincidences beyond the operations of chance, and which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future ages. The world has not gone back a thousand years, but that Being exists with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years. And, without ascribing any deviation from ordinary laws to these events, or supposing the

common Father, 'who sees with equal eye, as Lord of all,' the varied modes of worship of his different creatures, had interposed in a peculiar manner in favor of any particular Church, we may, without presumption, rest in the humble belief that the laws of the moral world are of universal application; that there are limits to the oppression of virtue even in this scene of trial; and that when a power, elevated on the ascendancy of passion and crime, has gone such a length as to outrage alike the principles of justice and the religious feelings of a whole quarter of the globe, the period is not far distant when the aroused indignation of mankind will bring about its punishment."

As Napoleon, defeated, with his magnificent army scattered, his prestige gone, crossed Germany, he heard protests, complaints, remonstrances, against his treatment of the pope. The Poles lost their confidence and complained loudly.

But his eyes did not open. His only thoughts were for his own ambition. He sought now to gain the pope to an apparent accord, and at the opening of the year 1813 sent a chamberlain to compliment the pope. This obliged the pope to send some one of his court to thank the emperor, and he selected Cardinal Joseph Doria. While this cardinal was in Paris, it was agreed to renew negotiations. The emperor selected Duvoisin, Bishop of Nevers, to represent his interests, while Pius could not easily find among those left near him a champion to equal him in ability and address.

Duvoisin followed Doria to Fontainebleau, and submitted these propositions:

"(1) That the pope, and future pontiffs his successors, should promise, previous to assuming the pontificate, never either to ordain or to execute anything contrary to the four famous propositions of the Gallican clergy.

"(2) That the pope and his successors should, for the

future, have the nomination of only the third part of the members of the Sacred College, and that the other two parts should be nominated by Catholic princes.

"(3) That the pope, by a public brief, should disapprove and condemn the conduct of all those cardinals who refused to be present at the sacred ceremonial of the nuptials of Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria Louisa; and that the emperor, restoring the said cardinals to his favor, to the end that they might acknowledge and subscribe their names to the above-mentioned brief, would grant them permission to rejoin the Holy Father.

"(4) That from the benefit of the act of grace or amnesty comprised in the last article, the Cardinals di Pietro and Pacca be excluded, and that neither of them be ever more permitted to approach the pope's person."

The conferences soon began between the bishops of Treves and Evreux on one side, and on the other, Cardinals Joseph Doria, Dugnani, Fabricius Ruffo, and de Bayanne, with Monsignor Bertazzoli, all of whom resided in the imperial palace. When they saw that the pope was utterly prostrated, and unable to resist their demands and arguments, they calculated on the effect of a slow fever and a kind of apathy, attended with desire of death, and resolved to leave to the emperor the glory of concluding the treaty. On the evening of the 19th of January, Napoleon proceeded to Fontainebleau with the Empress Maria Louisa, and presented himself directly to the pope. He took him in his arms, kissed him on the face, and bestowed on him a thousand marks of cordiality and friendship. No business affairs were treated of at this interview.

But the next day there were other interviews. In one of these Napoleon is said to have seized the Holy Father by the hair and to have insulted him grossly; but Pius, questioned as

to the fact, always declared that it was not so. "No," he said, "he did not proceed to such indignities, and God permits that, on this occasion, we have not to utter a falsehood." Yet Napoleon's words show that he assumed towards the pope a tone of authority, and even of contempt, and had the hardihood to say: "You are not sufficiently versed in the knowledge of ecclesiastical sciences."

Meanwhile the cardinals, and especially Bertazzoli, plied the pope with their arguments. He was now seventy-one. His life exhausted by pain, ill health, disgust for food, he yearned for the faithful cardinals; he felt all the helplessness of his situation, with not one wise, noble counsellor to sustain him; death was apparently approaching rapidly. In this state he could do little more than mechanically write his name, and on the 25th of January, 1813, he appended his signature to a paper which Napoleon immediately signed after him.

This so-called concordat of Fontainebleau is as follows:

"His Majesty the emperor and king, and His Holiness, being desirous to put an end to the differences that have existed between them, and to provide against the difficulties that, in many instances, have arisen in the affairs of the Church, have agreed to the following articles, intended to serve as the basis of a definitive adjustment:

"(1) His Holiness shall exercise the functions of the pontificate in France and in the kingdom of Italy, in the same manner and under the same forms as his predecessors.

"(2) The ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign powers residing at the court of the Holy Father, as well as the ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of the pope residing at foreign courts, shall enjoy the immunities and privileges enjoyed by other members of the corps diplomatique.

"(3) The dominions, or, in other words, the immovable property, heretofore possessed by the Holy Father and unalienated, shall be exempt from every species of imposition, and shall be administered by his agents, or by other persons intrusted with the management of his affairs. Those portions, on the contrary, at present alienated, shall be replaced by the yearly revenue of two millions of francs in compensation.

"(4) Within six months after the regular notification of the names of the archbishops and bishops of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy nominated by the emperor, the pope shall give canonical institution, according to the articles herein contained and by virtue of the present covenant. Previous information shall be given by the metropolitan. In case the pope, at the expiration of the above-mentioned period of six months, shall have failed to grant the institution, the metropolitan, and failing the metropolitan, or in the case of the metropolitan being himself the nominee, the oldest bishop of the province shall proceed to institute the bishop nominated, in such a manner that the see shall never remain vacant beyond the space of one year.

"(5) The pope shall nominate to ten bishoprics, whether in France or in Italy, as shall hereafter be mutually agreed upon.

"(6) The six suburban bishoprics shall be re-established, and the pope shall have the nomination. The property actually existing shall be restored; and for the property sold an equivalent shall be given. After the death of the bishops of Anagni and Rieti, their dioceses shall be united to the above-mentioned six bishoprics, in conformity with a plan that shall be agreed upon between His Majesty and the Holy Father.

"(7) With regard to the bishops of the Roman States who,

in consequence of present circumstances, may be absent from their dioceses, the Holy Father shall be at liberty to exercise in their favor his right of giving bishoprics in partibus. A pension shall be given to them, equal to the revenue which they enjoyed previously, and they shall be appointed to vacant sees either within the empire or in the kingdom of Italy.

"(8) His Majesty and His Holiness shall hereafter, at their leisure, take into their consideration the necessity of making a reduction in the number of bishoprics in Tuscany and in the States of Genoa. The same with regard to the establishment of bishoprics in Holland and in the Hanseatic departments.

"(9) The Propaganda, the Penitentiary, and the archives shall be established at the place of the Holy Father's residence.

"(10) His Majesty restores to his favor the cardinals, the bishops, the priests, and the laymen, who, on account of actual occurrences, had incurred his displeasure.

"(11) The Holy Father persuades himself to comply with the above-mentioned dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the Church, and from the confident hope with which His Majesty has inspired him, that His Majesty will grant his protection and provide for the numerous exigencies of religion, consequent upon the times in which we live."

The circumstances preceding this act are not positively known. We know only that, to induce him to take the pen handed by Cardinal Joseph Doria, his own counsellors made him believe them to be merely preliminaries, to be kept secret till they were considered in the council of all the assembled cardinals. Then the pope, urged on by these cardinals, and constrained by the presence of the emperor, who regarded him steadily though kindly, turned to some of his assistants

to ask their advice by a look. All seemed to indicate that he should yield. Still, at the moment of signing, Pius showed that he did so against his will. The treaty was of a most unusual character, signed by two sovereigns, one held captive by the other. Napoleon wished apparently by this course to avoid all ratification.

As a consequence of this act, the imprisoned cardinals were to be set at liberty. Napoleon at first refused to liberate Pacca. He lavished presents on the complaisant members of the Sacred College, announced to the empire the conclusion of the concordat, and ordered a Te Deum in the churches.

So long as the emperor remained at Fontainebleau the pope concealed his feelings; but no sooner had Napoleon retired than the Holy Father sank into a profound melancholy and was again prostrated with fever. When the faithful cardinals, and especially Di Pietro, arrived, Pius VII at once discussed with them the articles he had signed, and soon beheld them, as his fears had suggested, in a far different light from that presented by his treacherous counsellors. Filled with bitterness and grief, he refrained for several days from celebrating Mass, until he yielded to the exhortations of a learned and pious cardinal. The cause of his deep affliction was no secret to the French bishops and the cardinals residing in the palace. Napoleon, then, fearful that Pius might retract and revoke the articles, broke the agreement and made them public, announcing them to the Senate through the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès. At that moment Cardinal Pacca reached Fontainebleau. He thus, with his usual candor and grace, describes his first interview with the pope:

"On entering the antechambers I perceived several French bishops, and passing thence into the room where was the

pope himself, I met His Holiness, who had advanced a few steps forward towards me. At first sight of the Holy Father, I was thoroughly shocked and astonished to see how pale and emaciated he had become, how his body was bent, how his eyes were fixed and sunk in his head, and how he looked at me—with, as it were, the glare of a man grown stupid.

"He embraced me, and then, with an extraordinary coldness of manner, said 'he did not expect me so soon.'

"I replied that 'I had accelerated my journey on purpose to have the consolation of throwing myself at his feet, and of testifying to him my admiration of the heroic constancy with which he had endured his long, severe imprisonment.'

"To this His Holiness, as it were quite overcome with grief, replied in the following precise words. 'But,' said he, 'we have been dragged through the dirt! Those cardinals . . . absolutely forced me to go to the table and sign my name.'

"He then took me by the hand, and leading me to his chair, made me sit down beside him. Then, after asking me a few brief questions about my journey, he said: 'You may retire, for this is the time I expect to receive a visit from the French bishops. Apartments are provided for you in the palace.' Taking leave then of His Holiness, I was conducted by the custode of the palace to the apartments assigned to me, which were very small, being in fact one large room divided in three, that so formed the suite, opening upon the grand corridor. Similarly contrived accommodations were also allotted to the residence of other cardinals and the French bishops.

"The solitude and silence of the place, the expression of sadness that appeared on every countenance, added to the recent spectacle of profound grief I had witnessed in the person of the pope, and, above all, the unexpectedly cold recep-

tion I had experienced from His Holiness, occasioned me a degree of surprise, and a sorrowful compression of the heart, that is far more easy for any indifferent person to imagine than for myself to describe. Not more, however, than a few minutes had passed when I was partly relieved from my affliction by the appearance of the pope's almoner, Monsignor Bertazzoli, since a cardinal, who came to tell me 'that the pope was obliged to dismiss me at such short notice as he had done in order to acquit himself of the regular audience he gave to the French bishops at that hour; but,' he added, 'His Holiness would with much pleasure see me again before the hour of dinner. I must be cautious,' he said, 'of speaking in the presence of certain persons belonging to the pope's family'; which gentle hint, as I knew the people he intended to indicate, was quite sufficient.

"On returning to His Holiness I found him in a truly pitiable state of body and mind, that I feared might have a fatal termination. Their Eminences the Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Litta, having already arrived at Fontainebleau, were the first to enlighten him as to the manner he had been taken by surprise, and the consequence of the mistake he had committed; of which mistake he now conceived a legitimate horror, thoroughly aware, as he had become, how the counsels and suggestions of evil advisers had caused him to fall headlong from his former glorious position. He was consequently overwhelmed by a depression of spirits the most profound, so much so that, in the course of speaking to me of what had happened, he frequently broke forth in the most plaintive ejaculations, saying, among many similarly interjectional expressions, that the thought of what had been done tormented him continually; that he could not get it out of his mind; that he could neither rest by day nor sleep by night; that he could not eat more than barely sufficient to

sustain life; and that (these were the precise words he uttered) he should die, he said, 'like Clement XIV, out of his senses.' I said and did as much as I possibly could to console him, especially conjuring him to tranquillize his mind, and reminding him that, of all the evils it was yet possible to inflict upon the Church, that of his death would be the worst and most calamitous; and I added that, 'as in a very few days he would find himself surrounded by the remainder of all the cardinals who were in France, in whose zeal for the interests of the Holy See and devotion towards his sacred person he might implicitly place his confidence, there might yet be found in their united counsels a remedy for the mischief that had occurred.'

"At the words 'find a remedy,' his countenance became in a slight degree recomposed, and interrupting me, he said, 'Does Your Eminence really believe in the probability of a remedy?'

" 'Yes, Most Blessed Father,' I replied; 'for almost all the evils of life, when we have the will to seek a remedy, a remedy is to be found.'

"The proposal of the prompt revocation of the concordat was agreed to by a great majority, including a considerable number of black cardinals, among whom was His Eminence Cardinal Consalvi, who communicated the result of our deliberations to the Holy Father. His Holiness, notwithstanding he doubtless suffered not a little, in accordance with human nature, by being compelled to make a clamorous retractation of his signature to a solemn treaty, affixed only a few days before, was nevertheless supported by his virtues on the occasion, and was not only undisturbed by the bitter alternative proposed and taken, but actually hailed the suggestion with joy, and fully approved it.

"We therefore immediately began to take into considera-

tion the manner of carrying the latter determination into effect; and accordingly in the course of a few days, finding ourselves one evening assembled in a house inhabited by Cardinal Pignatelli—where we came to visit the cardinal, who was confined by illness—we, that is to say, the cardinals Saluzzo, Ruffo, Scilla, Archbishop of Naples, Scotti, Galeffi, Consalvi, and myself, the doors meanwhile being effectually secured and guarded, entered upon the discussion of this most important subject. Some of us were of opinion that the pope should declare the articles of the concordat null and void on a sheet of paper signed with his own hand, which, being submitted to the Sacred College, they should make public by means of numerous manuscript copies. To which proposal I replied by observing that it did not appear to me to be consistent with the good faith and purity that ought invariably to shine forth in the actions of the supreme pontiff, who not only ought on all occasions to be substantially right, but should also avoid, in the mode of conducting an operation, every possible chance of affording a plea for censure. I added that we ourselves ought at all events to shape our proceedings according to the precepts of the Gospel, and that we should be giving the emperor just reason to complain, were we to sanction the revocation suddenly and unexpectedly of an agreement approved and solemnly subscribed by himself and by the pope—an act which, if performed not only without giving the other party any reason whatever, but without a moment's premonitory notice, were the same as if one man were to fire a pistol at another man behind his back. In short, I proposed that the pope should retract the concordat, and communicate his retractation directly to the emperor by a letter, such as we should all agree upon. My illustrious colleagues, Pignatelli and Saluzzo, observed, in reply to the above proposal, that by carrying it into effect

we ran a risk of having the retractation kept entirely from the knowledge of the public, since the emperor, so soon as he became cognizant of the pope's intentions, would exert all the means in his power to prevent any written paper whatever emanating from the Holy Father and the cardinals. Their Eminences Consalvi and Litta were both of my opinion, and proposed that, a little while after the letter in question was despatched to the emperor, the pope should cause a copy of it to be read to all the cardinals resident at Fontainebleau, and authorize them to make known to the public, in such manner as they were able, the fact of his retractation. By such a step, they said, you will preserve the appearance of acting with due respect to the emperor, while at the same time the cardinals, sooner or later, cannot fail to find means to make the world acquainted with the pope's retractation of the articles of the concordat. My proposal, thus modified, was agreed to by all who were present, and also by two most worthy dignitaries of the purple, to whom it was speedily communicated, namely, Mattei and Di Pietro; finally, Cardinal Consalvi submitted it to the Holy Father, who approved it.

"A few days afterwards the pope began to compose a minute, intended to be preserved for an authentic document, as the basis of his letter to the emperor, which he proposed to copy from it; to the end that, the latter appearing all in his own handwriting, no other person than himself should be exposed to the imperial indignation.

"The writing of this letter and minute cost the pope the labor of several days, in consequence of his being unable to endure long-continued application, owing to the state of physical debility and lowness of spirits by which he was at that time oppressed; with reference to which, and in order that the strict, jealous degree of custody in which the Holy

Father was kept may be fully known, I do not imagine it will be superfluous to state a little more particularly how the business proceeded. In the first place, he could not leave any written paper of importance either in the chamber where he slept, or in his sitting-room, being aware that every morning, either while he was himself celebrating, or while he was attending the Holy Mass in the chapel, the dependents of the government made a practice of visiting the apartments and narrowly examining everything that lay upon the tables or was locked up in the wardrobes. Having keys of their own for the purpose, they opened the latter as well as all the other pieces of furniture that contained his papers and his clothes. Under such circumstances, every morning after His Holiness returned from Mass, Cardinal di Pietro, Cardinal Consalvi, or some other confidential person, called upon him. These respective callers brought with them the sheet of paper on which he had written the day before, when His Holiness, either in their presence or after they were gone, resumed his work for a short period. At all events, at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon I always waited on His Holiness; and after he had added a few lines to what he had written, and had concealed both the minute and the letter under my clothes, I carried the papers to the house where Cardinal Pignatelli resided; whence the next morning the same were conveyed as above stated, by a safe hand, to the pope at the palace. These contrivances lasted for several days, owing to the delays to which the good Pius was subjected—frequently by having occasion to make a necessary alteration in the minute, or because, on account of some words being left out in the fair copy, or a blot of ink having fallen on the paper, he had to begin it again.

"For my own part, I very well remember that every day when I carried away the writing, as before stated, and

crossed the quadrangle of the palace in front of the French sentinels, my agitation of mind was such—for fear the government, being suspicious or cognizant of what was going forward, might cause me to be stopped and searched—that notwithstanding the severity of the Paris climate, and that the season was winter, I was always in a state of perspiration. At last, after several days had elapsed, the letter was finished, all in the handwriting of the Holy Father, who therein declared the concordat, including all the articles he had previously signed, to be null and void; though at the same time he expressed his readiness to renew the negotiation, with an earnest desire to arrive at a definitive adjustment of all differences, provided that the new agreement were established on a basis that required nothing irreconcilable to his duties.

"The following is the letter of Pius VII to Napoleon:

" 'Majesty:

" 'Deeply as the confession we are about to make may wring our heart, severe as may be the displeasure with which Your Majesty receives it, the fear of divine judgment—to which period, on account of our advanced age and declining health, we are fast approaching—renders us, as it ought to do, superior to every other consideration, and to all the anguish which we suffer at the present moment.

" 'Constrained by our sense of duty, and with the sincerity and frankness that befit our dignity and our character, we hereby tell Your Majesty that from the 25th of January, the day when we signed the articles proposed to serve as the basis of the definitive treaty referred to by those articles, our mind has been incessantly lacerated by feelings of the most bitter remorse and lively repentance, and we enjoy neither peace nor repose.

" 'We perceived speedily, and serious daily meditation

has continued the more to convince us, the error which the desire to terminate in the speediest manner possible the disagreements that have arisen out of the affairs of the Church, and at the same time give satisfaction to Your Majesty, was the cause of our committing.

" 'Our grief of heart was for a while moderated in some degree by reflecting that the evils inflicted on the Church by ourselves, through the means of our signature, were capable of remedy by a subsequent definitive document; but our sorrow was increased immeasurably when, to our surprise, and contrary to the plan of operations concerted with Your Majesty, we saw the identical articles, which were in fact nothing more than the groundwork of a future arrangement, printed and published to the world under the title of Concordat. Bitterly bewailing in our heart the occasion afforded by ourselves of scandal to the Church, and convinced of the necessity of repairing a fault since made known to its members by the publication above alluded to, it is with infinite pain we undertake at once, and without delay, to manifest our sentiments and make our remonstrance; solely actuated at the same time by the prudential consideration of proceeding cautiously and without precipitation in an affair of such magnitude. Knowing, therefore, that within a short period we shall have the assistance of the Sacred College, which is our council, we have determined to await their presence, to the end that we may be enlightened in our consultations, and thence direct our judgment; not as to the retractation that we have felt ourselves bound to make of an act already done —and, as God is our witness, we were from the first moment firmly resolved upon—but to consider the most proper mode of executing our purpose.

" 'We have accordingly not been able to perceive any method better, or in closer accordance with the respect we

entertain towards Your Majesty, than to address ourselves directly to Your Majesty through the present letter; in which, standing in the presence of that God before whom we must shortly render an account of the use we have made of the power he has given us as his vicar for the government of the Church, we declare, with apostolic sincerity, that our conscience opposes insuperable obstacles to the execution of various articles of the document we have signed; for, to our grief and confusion, we perceive too clearly that by our promises, made incautiously—though in the frailty of humanity, dust and ashes as we are, and God knows with honest intentions—we have inadvertently used our power, not to the Church's edification, but to the Church's destruction.

" 'With regard to the document in question, signed by ourselves though it be, we say to Your Majesty the same that was said by our predecessor Pascal II to Henry V, when, under circumstances similar to those under which we are now placed, he had reason from motives of conscience to repent of and retract concessions that were already written and signed. "Since," said that illustrious pontiff, "we acknowledge what we have written as a deed ill done, so, as a deed ill done, we confess it, desirous as we are, through the help of the Lord, to amend it thoroughly, and in such a manner that neither evil may result to the Church nor damage accrue to our own soul's welfare."

" 'We are ready to acknowledge that, among the abovementioned articles, there are some which, by alteration in language, and by making other changes and modifications, are capable of emendation; but at the same time we consider others to be intrinsically obnoxious, and being contrary to justice, and irreconcilable to the religion of the Church established by our Lord Jesus Christ, impracticable and perfectly inadmissible.

" 'How can we, for example, commit an act of such palpable injustice as, without giving any canonical reason, deprive of their sees so many venerable bishops, accused of no other crime than of having followed our own instructions; or how can we, in like manner, without giving any canonical reason, permit the destruction of the sees themselves? Your Majesty surely cannot have forgotten how loud a cry arose in France and in Europe, in the year 1801, at the exercise of our power in depriving the French bishops of their sees, notwithstanding they were previously summoned and required to give their resignation? The extraordinary measure in question was nevertheless, in consequence of the urgent necessity of the case, admitted, and in those calamitous times considered indispensable as the only means of putting a stop to a grievous schism, and of reconducting a great nation to the centre of Catholic unity. But no such weighty reasons exist at the present day whereby, before God and man, we can justify the measure proposed to be undertaken by one of the articles in question.

" 'How can we, in like manner, agree to a regulation so subversive of the divine constitution of the Church of Jesus Christ, who established Saint Peter and his successors its primates, as to transfer our power to the metropolitan, thereby permitting the metropolitan to institute those nominees whom the supreme pontiff, weighing the various circumstances of their case, thinks proper in his wisdom not to institute; consequently, creating him who is inferior to the supreme hierarchy, and owes it submission and obedience, a judge and reformer of its conduct? Can we introduce into God's Church the unheard-of innovation that the metropolitan has power to institute, in opposition to the head of that Church? Under what well-regulated government was there ever conceded to an inferior authority the power to do what the head of the government determines not to do? By

making such a concession, should not we open a door to disorder and schism, equally prejudicial to the Church and to the State, and oblige the Roman pontiff to cease to hold communion with the nominees instituted by the metropolitan, in opposition to his decision, and in spite of his authority? Are we at liberty to deprive the Holy See of one of its primary rights—we, who are bound by the most solemn oaths to support and defend its prerogatives, even to the shedding of our own blood?

" 'Your Majesty perhaps will say that in our brief issued at Savona we have already made this concession, at least under some modifications; but that brief was not only afterwards rejected by Your Majesty, but Your Majesty's refusal to accept it was announced formally and officially. Our answer, therefore, to Your Majesty is the same sincere confession of the error into which, on that occasion also and in the situation in which we were placed, we, a frail human being, had fallen, anxious as we were then as now, and influenced by the hope that presented itself, to obviate the evils likely to accrue to the Church, without having, at the same time, made the necessary reflection that by the introduction of the system we were enunciating we laid open an entrance to other evils more fatal and more permanent than those we endeavored to avoid. That brief, however, having been refused by Your Majesty, our concessions contained in it become a nullity, and we consider Your Majesty's refusal as a stroke of Divine Providence that watches over the government of the Church. Even had it happened otherwise, and had the brief in question continued in force, since the reasons above propounded apply no less to the brief than to the articles of the concordat, we should have been equally obliged to revoke it.

" 'We can by no means conceal from Your Majesty that

our conscience has continually reproached us for not having made reference in the articles in question to the rights of dominion belonging to the Holy See, that our ministry and the oaths pronounced by us on our assumption of the pontificate oblige us to maintain, to vindicate, and to preserve; those rights we ought at least to have asserted in the body of the document; nor does the letter addressed to us by Your Majesty on the 25th of January afford a sufficient excuse for our omission.

" 'For the above-stated and other most weighty reasons, our imperative duties absolutely forbid the execution of the articles alluded to, as well as others, expressly cited in the folio number five, dated 25th of January; which, not to take up Your Majesty's time unnecessarily, we here omit to mention.

" 'We fully recognize the stipulations agreed upon, and were aware of our obligation to fulfil them, but, since we have perceived them to be in opposition to divine institutions and to our own duties, we nevertheless feel it incumbent on us to yield obedience to the law of a superior power, and refrain from the observance of that which is determined to be illicit.

" 'Under the indispensable obligation of declaring our resolution to Your Majesty, by the act we are now fulfilling, we have also an earnest desire to assure Your Majesty that we are ready, nay, eagerly anxious, in good truth, and earnest, to effect with Your Majesty a definitive adjustment of all our differences, including every point propounded in the articles, on the condition that a strict adherence to our own duties be taken as the basis of future proceedings.

" 'Whenever we may receive information that Your Majesty agrees with us in the views that, with our paternal confidence and in apostolic freedom, we have herein endeavored to ex-

plain, we shall experience a joyful anxiety in immediately making dispositions for the commencement of a new treaty having for its object the definitive adjustment so much to be desired. By such an adjustment we have no doubt that the necessary remedy will be applied to many grave disasters that the Church now labors under, relative to which we have not failed heretofore to cause our representations to reach the foot of Your Majesty's throne; and that an end will be put to those other troubles which of late years have afforded so great cause for grief and just remonstrance; all which calamities, in a definitive adjustment of the matters in question, we could never overlook without neglecting the obligations of our ministry.

" 'We beseech Your Majesty to consider these our sentiments with the same sincerity that we have felt in communicating them. We entreat Your Majesty, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to give comfort to our heart, that yearns for nothing more earnestly than to effect that state of reconciliation which has always been the object of our wishes. We pray Your Majesty to take into your consideration the glory that would result to Your Majesty, and the advantage that would accrue to your dominions, from the conclusion of a treaty whereby might be extended to the Church a state of true peace, such as might be forever firmly maintained by our successors.

" 'May God, to whom we lift up our most ardent prayers, deign to pour upon Your Majesty the copiousness of his heavenly benediction.

" 'Pius, PP. VII.

" 'Fontainebleau, 24th March, 1813.' "

On the morning of March 24 the pope summoned Colonel Lagorse and handed him the letter for the emperor, direct-

ing him to convey it at once to Paris. This order was given to the colonel in the tone of a man at peace with his conscience. The pope then summoned his cardinals to an audience successively, and informed them that, having already transmitted to the emperor a letter revoking and retracting all the concessions made in the fatal concordat of January 25, he would have desired to assemble the Sacred College, but, to avoid the charge of too public a meeting, he had resolved to read to each one separately the allocution and the letter in question.

This courageous act seemed to infuse new life into the venerable pontiff. His countenance became more serene; he resumed his native cheerfulness, with his peculiar smile; his eyes recovered their charm; he no longer complained of want of appetite, or inability to sleep; and he avowed that he now felt relieved from a burden that was crushing him day and night.

Napoleon was disconcerted. Violent at first, and urged to severity by some of the irreligious around him, he concluded to ignore the letter. Cardinal Maury, however, waited upon the pope, and urged his retractation of the letter in such terms as to excite the severe censure of the Holy Father.

The French bishops were ordered to leave the palace; the people of the town and strangers were no longer permitted to attend the pope's Mass. Pius was allowed to have none around him but his cardinals. On the 5th of April Cardinal di Pietro was taken from his bed, and, without his cardinal's insignia, hurried off to Auxonne, not to recover his liberty till Napoleon was himself a prisoner. The emperor notified the pope that the cardinal had been removed as convicted of being an enemy of the State. Colonel Lagorse also read to all the cardinals an order:

"That the emperor was displeased with the cardinals for having, ever since their arrival at Fontainebleau, continually restricted the pope from a condition of free agency; that, provided they were desirous of remaining at Fontainebleau, they must abstain from all manner of interference in matters of business, whether by writing letters to persons either in France or in Italy, or by speaking to the pope on public affairs; they must, on the contrary, keep themselves in a state of perfect inaction, and make no visits to the Holy Father otherwise than strictly social and complimentary. Failing in the above conditions, they would expose themselves to the hazard of losing their liberty."

Colonel Lagorse, having read the above paper, asked Cardinal Pacca whether he could allow himself to perform all that the emperor required.

The cardinal, in his memoirs, thus describes what ensued:

"With regard to the first commission, that particularly related to the Cardinal Consalvi and myself, I made no reply; but as to the second, I said 'that it was always my endeavor to adhere to a line of conduct such as could give the emperor no ground for complaint or suspicion; but that I could not promise all that was required of me in the paper just read, inasmuch as the pope might possibly give me an order at variance with it.'

" 'Then,' replied Colonel Lagorse, 'suppose the pope were to command you to speak to any person on politics, or to write and publish an official paper, would Your Eminence do so?'

" 'Indisputably I would,' said I; 'for I have often solemnly sworn to be faithful and obedient to him.'

" 'Then,' rejoined the colonel, 'you will at least give me your acknowledgment in writing of having received the emperor's orders.'

"Upon which I took the pen, and, having written upon

the paper the words 'Seen by me,' I signed my name, 'B. Cardinal Pacca.' "

Napoleon then, by two decrees of February 13 and March 25, declared laws of the empire these repudiated preliminary articles; but he did not dare to attempt to enforce them, fearing a general outburst of Catholic feeling.

The Holy Father, by the advice of the cardinals, then drew up an allocution, dated May 9, 1813, and communicated it as he had done the other.

This allocution was as follows:

"To our venerable Brothers and beloved Children in Christ, the Cardinals of the Sacred Roman College residing in Fontainebleau:

"You well know from our former communications, venerable brothers and beloved children in Christ, how lively has been our repentance, what agonizing remorse has incessantly pierced our heart, since on the very day when, having affixed our signature to the articles of the folio written in the imperial palace of Fontainebleau, and dated 25th of January, for the purpose of serving as the basis of a definitive treaty stated therein, about to be entered into between ourselves and His Majesty the Emperor of France and the King of Italy—the ink being scarcely dry, we discovered that under the circumstances in which we were then placed, and owing to our earnest desire of terminating, in the shortest manner possible, the confusions arising out of the affairs of the Church, we had been led into a grievous error. You know the one sole reflection that served in some degree to moderate our grief rested on the hope that the mischief incautiously occasioned by our affixing our signature to those articles might be removed subsequently in the course of the final preparation of the treaty; and to what a pitch of despair we were driven when, to our infinite amazement, we saw those

identical articles which, according to their very heading, were no more than the base of a future adjustment, printed and published, under the title of Concordat, in the very teeth of the agreement entered into with His Majesty!

"You know that, in the depth of our sorrow, for the sake of the Church thus scandalized by the publication of these articles, and convinced of the necessity of removing the damage so created, with how great difficulty we restrained ourselves from expressing our sentiments without reserve at the very moment, and that we were finally induced to refrain from doing so solely by the desire of proceeding with more prudence, and of not committing any precipitate act in an affair of such importance; wherefore, considering that a meeting of the Sacred College would shortly be held in our presence, we determined to await your arrival, and, guided by the lights of your understanding, thence come to a resolution—not upon the step which our duty obliged us to take towards the reparation of the error we had committed, as to which, God is our witness that our resolution was firmly decided—but as to the best mode of putting our purpose into execution. Finally, you know that of all the modes of procedure capable of being adopted, the mode which we believed to be the most consistent with the respect we profess to His Majesty the Emperor and King was to address ourselves in full confidence directly to His Majesty; and that accordingly, whatever were the pain the act we were about to perform might inflict upon our heart, we actually did address a letter to His Majesty, dated 24th March, in which, standing, as we observed to His Majesty, in the presence of that God to whom, as his vicar, we must render a strict account of the use made of our power, we declare, with evangelical sincerity and apostolic freedom, such as befit our dignity and our character, that our conscience opposed insuperable obstacles to

the execution of articles that must inevitably tend, not to the Church's edification, but to the destruction of the very power given to us by the Almighty for its government.

"Confessing, at the same time, the error we had committed, not by default of right intention, but owing to human frailty, we, in imitation of our predecessor, Pascal II, who, in a similar case of concessions made to Henry V, found reason to repent, used the same expressions to His Majesty which that pontiff had used before us, saying to His Majesty: 'Since we acknowledge the writing as a deed ill done, so as a deed ill done we confess it, hoping, through the Lord's assistance, to amend it thoroughly, and in such a manner that neither evil may result to the Church nor damage to our own soul's welfare.' We further signified openly to His Majesty that we acknowledged some of the articles to be, with proper changes and modifications, capable of amendment, but we pronounced others to be intrinsically obnoxious, in consequence of being contrary to justice, subversive of the divine constitution of the Church and the religion of Jesus Christ, who established the primacy of Saint Peter and his successors, and at variance with our own duties and the obligations contracted by us on our assumption of the pontificate.

"We did not omit to lay before His Majesty, so far as the limited compass of our letter would permit us, the principal and most weighty reasons that absolutely prohibited the execution, and rendered the admission impossible of certain of the articles; neither did we fail to state that, fully sensible as we were of the force of the obligations we had contracted, these obligations, nevertheless, being in opposition to divine institutions and to our own duties, we considered ourselves justified in yielding to a still stronger obligation that forbade their observance.

"Moreover, with reference to the article of the concordat

numbered four, since in a brief issued by us at Savona, moved by a desire of obviating the grave disasters that were overhanging the Church, we had made a concession similar, under certain modifications, to the concession contained in the article aforesaid, failing, at the same time, to reflect that by what we were granting we were opening a door to evils still more fatal and permanent than those it was in contemplation to remedy, we considered it expedient to make reference, in our letter to His Majesty, to the brief aforesaid, and to represent that, His Majesty having rejected that brief officially, the concession contained in it was consequently invalid. And we further added that, had we been even obliged to regard it still in force, yet nevertheless, since the reasons that militated against the article militated in like manner against the brief, we should have been under the necessity of revoking it as we had revoked the folio of Fontainebleau.

"After declaring all these things to His Majesty, we at the same time gave him our assurance that we were ready and earnestly anxious, so long as the definitive adjustment in question were prepared on a basis reconcilable with our duties, to proceed to the termination of all the differences remaining as reserved points in the aforesaid articles. Thereby, we added, would be repaired the various evils afflicting the Church, against which we had many times sent our remonstrances to the foot of the imperial throne, and an end would be put to the grievances that had of late years afforded motives of grief and of just remonstrance. All which subjects of complaint we could by no means, on entering upon a definitive treaty, omit to take under our consideration, without betraying the obligations of our ministry, and without inflicting grievous damage on the most sacred interests of the Church and of our holy religion.

"Finally, we concluded our letter by giving our assurance to His Majesty that, in the event of the approval of His Majesty of the views and principles enunciated in our letter, we were prepared to enter upon a new treaty immediately, such as would have for its object a peremptory, definitive adjustment of differences, and place the Church in a true, permanent state of peace that might be effectively maintained by our successors.

"All these things, venerable brothers, we wrote to His Majesty the Emperor and King; we also addressed to yourselves on the same day, the 24th of March, an allocution whereby we announced our retractation of the concordat signed on the 25th of January at Fontainebleau, and further declared our will and intention that that document, as well as the brief issued by us previously at Savona, be considered both void and non-existent, to the end that no prejudice result to the divine constitution of the Church and the rights of the Holy See.

"We added, finally, that, although we believed that, under the circumstances in which we were placed, what we had already done was sufficient for the intended purpose, we were yet ready, provided it were required by circumstances and deemed expedient, to renew this our present allocution under a form of deeper solemnity.

"With intense anxiety we awaited the result of our letter to His Majesty; while the solidity of the arguments we had adduced, our effusion of heart in their delivery, and the consciousness of having ever shown earnestly and unremittingly a disposition to do everything not actually forbidden by our duties towards the preservation of peace, gave us reason to entertain the most lively expectation of the successful fulfilment of our wishes. What, then, was our surprise, how acute the poignancy of our grief, when, after suffering a state of

suspense considerably protracted, not having received an answer to our letter, we saw appear in the public journals a series of articles whereby the pretended concordat of the 25th of January was represented to the public as if it were then actually in existence and in force, notwithstanding the retractation made in our letter and the reasons by which that retractation was supported! Nay, even greater still was our astonishment and grief of heart when one of our counsellors, the most worthy Cardinal di Pietro, was torn from our bosom and banished to a distant spot; when the remainder of the cardinals, placed under severe restriction by the government, even to the extent of being rendered absolutely mute and inoperative, were forbidden to hold conversation with ourselves on the most trifling affairs of business; were prohibited from writing any letter whatever; were commanded to remain in a state of perfect inaction, and, so far as regards giving their assistance in our councils, to limit their personal intercourse with ourselves to visits merely nugatory. These were the regulations which were prescribed in writing to our cardinals, together with the explicit menace of the loss of their liberty in the event of failure in the conditions, or of otherwise rendering themselves unwittingly liable to the suspicion of the government. Finally, how has our heart been infused to overflowing with bitterness by seeing printed and proclaimed in the journals, not only the imperial decree, bearing date the 13th of February, whereby the pretended concordat of Fontainebleau is declared the law of the empire, ordered to be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, and to be transmitted to all the tribunals and public authorities; but also another decree, dated the 25th of March, the very day after we had addressed our letter to His Majesty, on the 24th, and despatched it by the identical officer in the imperial service whom His Majesty himself ap-

pointed to reside with us in the palace; by which latter decree the pretended concordat is declared obligatory upon all archbishops, bishops, and chapters of the empire, and kingdom of Italy; the punishment of transgressors against its provisions is determined by a special clause to that effect; and the execution of the fourth article is prescribed with such variations that the tenor of the article itself is perverted and aggravated. The metropolitans, for example, on the pretended authority of the concordat—which, for the reasons we have already stated, and for further reasons which we shall give in the sequel, gives no such authority—are thereby commanded to institute, within the space of six months, the nominees objected to by ourselves.

"The danger, therefore, of an inevitable and grievous misfortune becomes but too imminent, and one that no precautionary or conciliatory measures of our own have power to avert. For if, on the one hand, we were to admit the execution of the pretended concordat to its full extent; and if, on the other, our scruples of conscience, and the sacred duties of our apostolic ministry, compel us to reject it, it is evident, whichever line of conduct we were inclined to adopt, that nothing short of the succor of the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of men, which he bends as he sees fit, can possibly prevent the arising of a serious schism throughout the country; so have we been constrained, and so are we constrained, to declare the concordat null and non-existent. But the more grave the Church's danger, the more forcibly does our pastoral solicitude compel us to provide against it to the utmost of our capability, notwithstanding we are actually in a state of close imprisonment, without the privilege of having communication with any persons save ourselves, to whom at the same time is barely permitted, according to the prohibition before alluded to, to remain inoperatively passive

in our presence and listen to our voice. We, therefore, can do nothing more than deposit in your bosom our sentiments, in order that on some future day you may bear witness for us of the real state of our mind and inclination on the important affair in question. With such an object in view, therefore, we have considered it to be our bounden duty, by means of the present allocution, composed by ourselves and written in our own hand, thus fully to express our feelings and our desires in the present crisis; communicating its contents to each of you successively, to the end that for future reference you may be possessed of an irrefragable proof of our determination, that may serve no less as a normal guide for your own future proceedings, than for a document tending to the preservation of the rights of the Holy See.

"We cannot, however, persuade ourselves that any of our metropolitans, so far forgetful of the laws of the Church and of his own proper duties, ever could presume to give institution, after the interval of six months, to nominees; or believe himself authorized so to do by the fourth article of the pretended concordat. For it were impossible he should not be aware that the folio of the 25th of January is not actually a concordat, but a document that merely contains articles to serve as the basis of a future treaty, as is expressly stated in its preamble. Neither have the communications that have passed between ourselves and His Majesty the Emperor relative to those articles had any meaning capable of invalidating the fact that the document in question is nothing more than the groundwork of a thing about to be done, and that it is not a perfect concordat; wherefore the metropolitans must necessarily understand the impossibility of an act not only not consummated, but even hardly begun to be executed, conferring any manner of right to interfere with the general discipline of the Church in so grave a question. They must

also further consider that, even if the concordat were a real and true one, the same of itself would be insufficient, incomplete, and incapable of being acted upon without the additional authority of a confirmatory bull from ourselves for the purpose of empowering the institution to be given, and of sanctioning the introduction of a form of discipline different from the previous practice of the Church, confirmed by its apostolical constitution and by general councils, which we are implicitly bound to respect.

"With regard to the necessity of a confirmatory bull from ourselves on the present occasion, it were superfluous to seek to corroborate our assertion from the examples of former times and preceding concordats, since we have a more recent instance to refer to in the concordat of 1801, which, in order to render it valid, was authorized and proclaimed by ourselves by a bull issued on purpose, which bull, as is known to all persons, was afterwards carried into execution by the decree of our legate the late Cardinal Caprara. Finally, the pretended concordat, by virtue of which it is proposed to act, has actually ceased to exist, has been declared void, and revoked by ourselves, as if it never had been made; we now declare it void, and revoke it once more and again. Neither can it be asserted, under any valid pretext, that our declaration of its non-existence is not sufficiently known and authentic, since the letter written by us on the 24th of March to His Majesty, and all the events relative thereto, that have happened subsequently, are matters of general notoriety; in addition to which, we have ourselves communicated the fact to some of those archbishops and bishops with whom, previous to our more rigid state of restraint, we were permitted to have intercourse. Indeed, the degree of publicity we have given to this our revocation is even more than sufficient; especially as, in the consideration of the validity of an

act about to be performed, the slightest well-founded doubt ought certainly to afford sufficient ground for the abstaining from innovation. Neither can any stress be laid on the concordat on the score of its irrevocability; not only because it consists solely of the folio of the 25th of January, which, as has before been shown, is not a concordat, but because, if it even were a perfect document, obligations contracted upon it, under any circumstances, are impossible to be complied with; since, as the metropolitans must be well aware, so long as an obligation, no matter under what circumstances it be contracted, be contrary to divine institutions, its observance is therefore illicit. The truth of this fact, well known in the abstract, has further been confirmed and recognized in similar cases to the present; for example, in the instance above cited, of our predecessor Pascal II, as well as by the Lateran Council, and councils of Italy, Germany, Spain, and even France, which latter includes the Viennese Council of 1112, convened in Dauphiny by the Archbishop of Vienne.

"All these considerations afford us sufficient grounds for believing that the metropolitans can certainly never permit themselves to do, in the matter in question, what they have no right to do in any manner or under any circumstances; but rather we expect that they will not fail to present their respectful, humble remonstrances at the foot of the throne, for the purpose of showing the impossibility under which they find themselves of giving the institution in question. Such is the opinion that we have just reason to entertain of the metropolitans of France and of the kingdom of Italy; but if, unhappily, the event should happen contrary to our well-grounded expectations, then, in such a case, the sacred duties of our ministry and the gravity of the subject compel us to declare explicitly that such institution, given in defiance of

ourselves, would be invalid; invalid would be the jurisdiction of the persons instituted, and they themselves illegitimate, intrusive pastors; the consecration sacrilegious, as well on the part of the institutors as of the instituted; and the whole act, together with all the parties concerned in it, considered by us schismatic.

"We should be, moreover, constrained to discard the offenders from our holy communion, subject to all the pains and penalties that in such cases are prescribed by the sacred canons. Neither should we hesitate to carry the same into effect under the usual forms practised in like circumstances by our predecessors; provided, be it understood, that we possess the power; which, if we have it not, we nevertheless now exercise and declare by the only possible means we can use in our actual position.

"But relying on the mercy of the Lord, we trust that such a melancholy contingency may never happen; and we still entertain a hope that His Majesty the Emperor and King, bending his mind to new counsels, may become inclined to listen to our prayer, and yielding to the proposal contained in our letter, may agree to the undertaking a new treaty, which, formed upon a basis reconcilable with our duties, may complete the definitive adjustment of all the differences that have arisen, and satisfy the object of our wishes. In the bitterness of our soul do we offer up to Heaven continually our most fervent prayers towards such a consummation, for which we earnestly exhort yourselves, venerable brothers and beloved children, to offer up your prayers also; while we, with all the effusion of our heart, confer on you the apostolic benediction.

"Pius, PP. VII.

"Fontainebleau, 9th May, 1813."

A bull to regulate the next conclave was also drawn up, to provide for any possible contingency.

Meanwhile a new form of persecution was adopted. Scribblers were sent to spy and misrepresent the pope, to make him ridiculous in the eyes of men; as though a Napoleon would have wasted negotiations, threats, duress, on an imbecile. His refusal to walk, attended by a jailer, his disinclination to read the literature of the day, his monk-like simplicity of bed, of apparel, and even his care of his own scanty wardrobe, all furnished matter of derision to men who had deprived him of everything, and who could not appreciate the really grand self-sacrifice of Pius. He was a prisoner, deprived of everything; his very papers, his breviary, were not regarded as his. He was reduced once more to his old monastic life, his vow of poverty, so long observed, so tenderly loved, that he now rejoiced to feel some of the effects of it. The blind enemies of Catholicism could not read the lesson so patent to every Catholic heart. Pius contended for his temporal dominions, but not that he cared individually aught for pomp or honor, or even for those worldly comforts that the ordinary citizen enjoys. By evincing how little sufficed for his wants, how little he felt the privation of power, he showed that in his struggle with the emperor he contended solely for a principle which conscience forbade him to abandon.

"The august traveller," says Cardinal Wiseman, "was without even a change of clothes or of linen. And later still, when no longer in the hands of men like Radet, he was in possession of only one dress, a stuff cassock, given to him by the King of Spain, totally unsuited to the season in which he was obliged to wear it. This he mentioned to a friend, an Englishman, at Rome, in 1820, from whom I derive the statement. Indeed, those who have desired to lower him

before the world have dwelt particularly on the want of dignity which they discovered in his performing for himself common menial services, and even mending his own garments. They have set him down for this as a craven and poor-spirited creature, endowed with no sense of honor, pride, or self-respect.

"There can be no doubt that in all this there is nothing dramatic nor, in the vulgar sense, heroic. Such a prisoner, such a captive, creates no scenes, gives no impassioned pictures for the pencil or the pen. You cannot invest him with the pathos of Saint James's or the Temple, nor get soft or tender speeches or dialogues out of him; nor—with the dignity of two hundred and fifty-four pontiff predecessors on his head, with the privileges of the first fisherman, whose ring he wore, inseparable from his very title, and with the firm conviction, or rather consciousness, that he held the very thunder of spiritual might undivided in his hands, from Him whose vicar his captors owned him to be—can one outburst of noble scorn, as the world would call it, one blighting defiance, one solemn appeal to the faith, however drugged to sleep, of those around him, be detailed, or really be discovered, among the records of his captivity. Romance or poetry could not presume to seize on it, as they have done on Du Guesclin's, or Surrey's, or King Richard's. For there is nothing that the imagination can feed on, or enlarge, or elevate. It is the entire simplicity, naturalness, and unaffected submission to the will of God, without an effort to excite sympathy, diminish severity, or strike out an effect, that makes the singular beauty of this touching episode.

"In the history of the first Charles it is recorded that when brought to Windsor, on his way to trial and execution, he was, for the first time, deprived of the kingly state with which he had been served even during his previous captivity.

'This absence of ceremony,' says Lingard, 'made on the unfortunate monarch a deeper impression than could have been expected. It was, he said, the denial of that to him, which, by ancient custom, was due to many of his subjects; and, rather than submit to the humiliation, he chose to diminish the number of the dishes, and to take his meals in private.'

"I remember reading, many years ago, the narrative written by an infanta of Spain, of her expulsion or flight from Madrid; and recollect being struck by the pathetic terms in which she records the day whereon, for the first time in her life, she took her meal off earthenware, feeling it an immense hardship for one who had never before, since her birth, eaten from anything less costly than gold plate.

"It is in strong contrast with such examples of pitiful murmuring that the uncomplaining and cheerful traveller from Rome to Savona stands. For, indeed, he had been trained for privation and suffering. 'Behold, they who are clothed in soft raiment are in the houses of kings.' Such was the royal Stuart, such was the gentle Bourbon. But Pius had been educated in the rough habit, and with the plain diet of the monk, in fastings often, and in watchings, and in many trials of subjection and obedience.

"It is not difficult to live over again our earlier life: the officer easily plays the soldier in battle, a painter never forgets how to sketch. And so the monk, in his simplicity and habits of endurance, had lived in Pius through episcopacy, cardinalate, and papacy. During the first two he had not even changed the color of his robes, symbolical of a mourning and penitential life. Nor had the tiara obliterated the religious crown, shaven on the day of his clothing as a child of Saint Benedict, in symbol of that thorny crown which sovereign and monk are equally called to wear. Old as he now was, the days easily came back when he was

girded by another, and led whither this one willed; when his wardrobe was scanty and scarcely his own, and when he had no servant at his beck, but knew well how to serve himself, and, if needful, others. 'Redire in naturam puerorum,' to become as little children, is more difficult for a grown man than it was for a sovereign like Pius to return to his novitiate, whether he was cooped up in a tight, well-closed carriage on the road to Radicofani, or in a prison on the Mediterranean. It is surely a proof of great stolidity in the general to write, speaking of this journey, 'Je les tiens comme en cage,' forgetting that a carriage, though locked up, does not make, any more than 'iron bars, a cage'; and not to put another reading on the occasional smile of his prisoners than he did, and write instead, 'Ils se rient parfois de nous.'

"In fact, this previous life of absolute abandonment to the care of Providence, of total ignorance whence the very necessities of life were provided, but of certainty that something would be found, the day-by-day attention to spiritual or intellectual things, without domestic solicitudes or secular cares, that had filled up the monastic period of the pope's life, was only the practical illustration of a principle which his early piety taught him at his mother's knee, of reliance on God, and simple surrender to his will. Thus ripened and strengthened, the principle must have become one of boundless trustfulness and unshaken faith. It was a confidence, without anxiety, in Him who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the grass of the fields. But under what circumstances? It was a trust in Him who bountifully caters for the sparrow, indeed; but felt and expressed when the poor bird was actually in the kite's claws. It was a hope in Him who arrays His lilies more splendidly than Solomon in all his glory; but sure and full when the scythe was already levelled by the mower, bending to the stroke.

"Hence the captivity of Pius VII is no drama, nor is he a hero. For each is more. The one is a holy history, a sacred episode in the annals of the Church—ay, and in those of human virtue. It is changing the light of a picture, taking it out of the glaring and garish brightness of midday into a darker and cooler evening atmosphere. All around is subdued and still, and the coloring becomes mellower, and small details almost disappear, and even the expression looks more placid and yet graver. But every feature is there, and the character is unchanged: the same the smile, the same the tender eye, the same the speaking lip. No grand peculiarities are developed; the beauty is the absence of change. And he who is said to be no hero is much more. There is something almost awful in the unruffled calm which pervades the narrative of nearly continuous imprisonments in the latter portion of the Acts. Saint Paul is confined at Philippi and Jerusalem, Cæsarea and Rome, warily guarded as an important person, now by sea and now by land. But it is all given as a matter of course. No particulars of the jail, no description of the dungeon, scarcely an incident of years spent by him girt with a chain or in free custody. Above all, no account of how he bore it; none of his looks, his words, his sufferings; none of his patience, his cheerfulness, his prayer, his union with Christ. We are supposed to understand all this, and not to require telling that Saint Paul in the stocks of the inner dungeon of Philippi, singing God's praises, was the same as Saint Paul speaking with noble courage before Festus; that it was the privilege of the apostolic character to be as serene in a dungeon as gracious on the episcopal chair. And so, in course of time, when the lesser details and spare anecdotes of Pius's captivity shall have been first diluted, then melted away in the growing mass of historical material, the writer of his abridged life

will find it sufficient to say that he bore his captivity, its perhaps unintentional rigor, its accidental aggravations, and its occasional insults, as became his high dignity and noblest inheritance, and in the character and spirit of an apostle."

After the battle of Lützen the empress notified the pope. Pius replied with calmness and dignity, but took occasion to complain of the treatment to which he was subjected, and of the violence done him by carrying off a cardinal at Fontainebleau.

When a congress at Prague was spoken of, to discuss the affairs of Europe, the pope despatched a letter, drawn up by Cardinal Consalvi, to Monsignor Severoli, nuncio at Vienna. This letter, in fact a protest addressed to the Emperor Francis, was secretly conveyed to its destination by Count Thomas Bernetti, subsequently a cardinal and secretary of state to Gregory XVI.

"To our most Beloved Son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction:

"It has come to our knowledge that a congress, for the purpose of securing the interests of the different European States by a general peace, is about to assemble at Prague, under the mediation of Your Imperial and Royal Majesty.

"Your Majesty's piety and sense of religion, Your Majesty's love of justice, Your Majesty's filial devotion and interest for our person, notified to us by His Excellency Count Metternich, while we were under detention at Savona, no less than by the part taken by Your Majesty during our late grievous misfortunes, furnish so many reasons to induce us to approach Your Majesty on the present occasion, entertaining a well-founded confidence that we approach not Your Majesty in vain.

"Head of the Catholic Church as we are, and sovereign of

the Pontifical States, we advance our claims for the recovery of the aforesaid States, of which we find ourselves deprived on account of having declined to take part in the past and present wars, and having kept ourselves in the state of neutrality that befits us in our quality of common Father, and as the interests of religion, diffused through the different dominions of so many princes, equally require.

"Far from having ever renounced the sovereignty of our States, we have, on the contrary, at all times and in all places, loudly reclaimed our rights; rights that are confirmed by the possession of more than ten centuries—a period of possession probably the longest of any existing dynasty.

"Again, on the present occasion, we reclaim those rights, not doubting that we do so with reason; as the justice of our cause and the sacred interests of religion require of us for the preservation of the free, impartial exercise of our spiritual power as head of the Catholic Church all over the Catholic world.

"While the free, impartial exercise of such a power is a point of universal interest to nations, the necessity of the independence of the head of our religion, even without adding other arguments, has been but too clearly demonstrated by recent events and in our own person. Our own sole example has sufficiently shown the degree of liberty accorded to a supreme pontiff under circumstances when, himself deprived of his sovereignty, subjected to the power of another prince, and compelled to reside in another's dominions, he labors in his ministry, impeded by obstacles which, under such a state of thraldom, political jealousies place in the way of his authority. In good truth, the Universal Church has not, for many years, been governed by the chief invested by her Divine Founder with the authority.

"In our own name, therefore, and in the name of the

Holy Apostolic See, we reclaim the restoration of its rights, throughout the whole of the dominions that form, not our patrimony, but the Patrimony of Saint Peter—a patrimony that, as has been acknowledged even by writers inimical to the Holy See, God has given to the head of his Church, to enable him to exercise his celestial power in governing the souls and in preserving unity among the entire body of the faithful, distributed, as they are, over so many empires and nations frequently belligerent.

"The imperative obligation that impels us to make this our present appeal to Your Majesty proceeds not from the ambition of dominion, neither from the desire of possession, but we are inspired by our sacred duties towards God, the Church, and our people; not less by the oaths which, on our assumption of the pontificate, we have taken to preserve, defend, and vindicate the rights and possessions of the Holy Apostolic See.

"Were it possible, we would not fail, on the present occasion, to despatch to Prague a diplomatist to represent and enforce our arguments before the congress; but, under our present situation, we are by no means certain that we have even the power to cause this our present letter safely to reach Your Majesty; hoping, nevertheless, that our letter may be presented to Your Majesty, we pray Your Majesty in quality of mediator in the peace about to be treated of, to use Your Majesty's intercession to the end that ourselves, as well as others, may be represented by a diplomatist in the congress; and, with more earnest anxiety, we confide to the care of Your Majesty the protection of a cause which is not only our own, but the cause of the Holy See and of the Catholic religion.

"Filled with confidence in the character and sentiments that so much distinguish Your Majesty, we cease not, in

the bitterness of our heart and in the midst of our disasters, to offer up our prayers to God for Your Majesty's prosperity, and the prosperity of Your Majesty's august family, to whom, with the most lively affection, we give the apostolic benediction.

"Pius, PP. VII.

"Fontainebleau, 24th July, 1813,
"In the fourteenth year of our pontificate."

Napoleon was, however, uneasy. The position of affairs could not last, and some step might be taken that would place the papal government in full action beyond his States. He again sought to negotiate. The Marchioness Brignole, a lady of honor to the empress, was sent to Cardinal Consalvi with propositions. The answer was distinct: it was no longer the time, and Paris not the place. Then came Monsignor Fallot de Beaumont, successively Bishop of Voiron, Ghent, and Piacenza. His Holiness declared that he could not change his opinion. De Beaumont was at once sent back to offer Rome and the provinces as far as Perugia. Pius insisted that the restitution of his States was an act of justice, and no matter for a treaty; that, moreover, everything done out of Rome would be ascribed to duress. In the course of conversation he said that he asked only to return to Rome, and as soon as possible; that he needed nothing, and that Providence would guide him. In this audience, too, he used these remarkable words: "Our sins may possibly render us unworthy to behold Rome again, but our successors will recover the States that belong to them. But assure the emperor that we are not his enemy: religion will not permit us to be. We love France; and, when we are at Rome, it will be seen that we shall do what is becoming."

On the 22d of January, 1814, a line of empty carriages

drew up in the court of Fontainebleau; and Colonel Lagorse informed Cardinal Mattei and other members of the Sacred College that he had orders to see that the pope set out next day. The cardinals advised the pope to insist on being attended by three of the Sacred College. Soon after, Lagorse presented himself to the pope, and, in a respectful tone, informed him that he was to start the next morning. The pope insisted on being attended by some cardinals, but Lagorse replied that his orders were that only Monsignor Bertazzoli should accompany him in his carriage; his physician, Dr. Porta, and one of the emperor's surgeons were to follow in another carriage.

The next morning, after hearing Mass, Pope Pius VII received all the cardinals who were at Fontainebleau. There, with a serene countenance, he told them that, being on the point of being again separated from them, ignorant of his destination, and uncertain when he should have the consolation of seeing them again around him, he had summoned them to impart his views and intentions. He continued in these words:

"We are fully persuaded that you, whether together or again scattered to various countries, will maintain a conduct becoming your dignity and character. Nevertheless, we advise you, in what place soever you be transferred, to show by your conduct the grief you must justly feel to see the Church given up to such terrible and deplorable calamities, and to behold its head a prisoner. We commit to the cardinal dean of the Sacred College an autograph paper containing instructions; it will be communicated to you by that eminence, to serve as your rule and guide. We cannot doubt but that you will display your fidelity to the oath taken on your promotion to the cardinalate, and that you will be found zealous defenders of the rights of the Holy See. We ex-

pressly command you not to lend yourselves to any stipulations for a treaty, either as to things spiritual or things temporal, such being on that point our firm and absolute will."

The cardinals, many affected to tears, promised implicit obedience. Then the pope, taking some slight refreshment, continued to converse cheerfully, with his old gaiety, springing from the hope of once more beholding his Rome. He then proceeded with the cardinals to the chapel, and, blessing the people assembled there, descended to the court, and, amid the sobs of all who looked on, unconscious what his destiny might be, Pius VII, with Monsignor Bertazzoli, entered the carriage.

The same day Cardinals Mattei, Dugnani, della Somaglia, and Pacca set out, followed within a few days by the rest. Meanwhile Pius VII was conducted to Motte-Beuvron, Brives, Montauban, Castelnaudary. At this place the prefect of L'Aude, Baron Trouvé, addressed him with marks of most respectful devotion; many ladies sought an audience, and so earnestly that one had her ears boxed by a gendarme. The whole people showed such joy to see the pope that Lagorse indignantly asked, "What would you do if the emperor was passing here?" They pointed to the river, and replied, "Give him a drink." As this rendered him furious, they cried out, "Don't you want a drink yourself, colonel?" Pius VII, however, checked as much as he could these manifestations, which showed how rapidly Napoleon's star was waning. "Courage and prayer," repeated the vicar of Saint Peter.

That star had paled, indeed, when, ten days after the departure of Pius VII from Fontainebleau, a provisional government, which had succeeded the emperor in Paris, issued the decree: "The provisional government, learning with grief the obstacles raised to the pope's return to his States, and deploring this continuation of the outrages to which

Napoleon Bonaparte subjected His Holiness, orders that all delay to his journey instantly cease, and that, throughout his route, the honors due him be paid. The civil and military authorities will see to the execution of the present decree."

This was sealed with the arms of the Prince of Benevento, and signed by Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, the Duke de Dalberg, General Count Buernonville, Monsignor de Jaucourt, and the Abbé de Montesquiou.

Eugene Beauharnais treated the pope with great respect, and facilitated his passage to Parma, whence he passed to Cesena. Here Joachim Murat, King of Naples, asked to present his homage to the Holy Father, and was instantly admitted to an audience. Murat intimated that he did not know the object of the pontiff's journey. "We are going to Rome," said Pius VII; "can you be ignorant of that?" "But how does Your Holiness resolve thus to go to Rome?" "It seems to us that nothing can be more natural." "But will Your Holiness go in spite of the Romans?" "We do not understand you," replied the pope. "The chief nobles of Rome," said Murat, "with the rich citizens, have begged me to transmit to the allied powers a memorial, signed by them, in which they ask to be henceforth governed only by a secular prince. Here is the memoir, of which I have sent a copy to Vienna. I have kept the original, and lay it before Your Holiness, that you may see the signatures." At these words Pius took the memoir from Murat's hands, and, without reading or even opening it, cast it into a chafing-dish that stood near, where it was instantly consumed. "There is nothing now," said the pope, "to interfere with our going to Rome, is there?" Then, without displeasure or any mark of annoyance, he took leave of the man who sent troops, in 1809, to carry him off a prisoner. This incident, which was made known by Joachim himself, showing such spontaneous

clemency to dangerous subjects, such forgetfulness of individual wrong, is truly one of the grandest in the life of Pius VII. After this, Murat, who had instigated the memorial, no longer raised objections to the triumphal march of the pope.

Lucien Bonaparte, an exile in England, the sturdy republican who would never accept a crown, wrote to the pope to congratulate him on his return to Rome, and expressing his desire that Napoleon "would return to the bosom of the Church, and acquire a right to the indulgence of the Father of Mercies and the prayers of his vicar."

On the 30th of April the pope wrote from Cesena to felicitate Louis XVIII and call his attention to the constitution passed by the Senate, as well as to protest against Murat's occupation of Rome. He also asked the restoration of the papal archives.

Pius VII reached Ancona on the 12th of May, and was received with incredible transports of joy. His horses were taken from his carriage, which was drawn along by sailors, amid the thunder of artillery and the glad tones of the bells. At the Piazza of Saint Augustine he left the vehicle, and gave his benediction from a triumphal arch; thence he passed to the merchants' guild, where he blessed the sea. The next day he crowned a statue of the Blessed Virgin "Queen of all Saints," and on the 14th set out for Osimo. A guard of honor in red escorted him to Loretto. On the way he welcomed Madame Letitia, who came to seek an asylum in Rome, and Cardinal Fesch, whom he treated with great kindness. As soon as he heard of the cardinal's approach, Pius said: "Let him come, let him come; we still behold his vicars-general flocking to meet us at Grenoble. Pius VII cannot forget the courageous tone with which he took the oath prescribed by Pius IV."

Meanwhile commissaries, on the part of the Holy Father, took possession of Rome. Monsignor Naro, majordomo, found in the pope's apartments at the Vatican a deposit of articles of great value, comprising all the pontifical vestments with their jewels, and a quantity of gold amounting to about thirty thousand dollars, which had been concealed in 1809, when it was feared that the pope might be removed from Monte Cavallo to the Vatican.

On the 20th of May the pope sent Cardinal Consalvi to Paris, bearing a brief which accredited him to Louis XVIII. By another brief of the same date the pope protested against the treaty of Tolentino.

On the 24th the pope made his solemn entry into Rome, with Cardinal Mattei, the dean of the Sacred College, and Cardinal Pacca before him. The general who escorted the pope's triumphant march was the same Pignatelli Cerchiara who had aided Radet in storming the palace. At the Piazza del Popolo, James Bresca welcomed the pope with a choir of twenty-two orphan boys and forty-five girls, all dressed in white, and waving gold-colored palms, which they ended by offering to the pontiff.

Yet there were still uncertain minds in Rome, men won to French ideas or compromised by other motives; but when the affair at Cesena became known, the signers were the warmest to welcome the pope. One of these approached him to solicit pardon, but the Holy Father interrupted him: "And do you think that we have no fault to reproach ourselves with? Let us agree to forget all the past."

Meanwhile Pius VII began to restore his authority in the parts still occupied by Murat's troops; but the Austrians continued to hold the legations, which Eugene Beauharnais had abandoned as he retired on Milan. Cardinal Consalvi was sent to represent the pope with the allied sovereigns at

Paris, and Cardinal Pacca was made pro-secretary of state. Monsignor della Genga, afterwards Leo XII, was despatched to felicitate Louis XVIII, who resolved to send, as extraordinary ambassador to Rome, Monsignor Cortois de Pressigny, formerly Bishop of Saint Malo.

Cardinal Consalvi's first step was to ascertain the views of the government in regard to affairs of religion. The French cabinet rejected the concordat of Fontainebleau, which was reasonable, even Bertazzoli disavowing it, but they desired to overthrow that of 1801. Cardinal Consalvi urged Pius to temporize, and, meanwhile, addressed to all the powers a most able argument in defence of the pope's rights to his former territory.

One of the first great acts of the pope after his return to Rome was the restoration of the Society of Jesus, by his bull of August 7, 1814. On that day, the octave of the feast of Saint Ignatius, the pope heard Mass in the Church of the Gesù, and then proceeding to an interior chapel, read the bull in the presence of the cardinals and a numerous assembly, all Rome displaying an outburst of joy which contrasted strongly with the sadness visible on every face when Clement XIV suppressed the same society.

This bull is as follows:

"Pius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a Perpetual Remembrance of the Fact.

"The care of all the churches committed, such being the disposition of Providence, to us, unequal in our lowliness to the task, either by merits or by strength, compels us to employ all the means in our power, and such as Divine Providence mercifully supplies unto us, in order that we may seasonably, without distinction of nation or people, meet the spiritual wants of the Christian world to which the various

and manifold changes of the times and of the State give rise.

"This burden of the pastoral office it was our desire to discharge, as Francis Karew, then living, and other secular priests who had formerly been members of the Society of Jesus, suppressed by our predecessor Clement XIV of happy memory, and who had been for many years in the vast empire of Russia, presented to us their petition whereby they asked that power might be given them to unite in a body corporate under our authority, so that they might more easily, according to the scheme of their peculiar institute, apply themselves to the instruction of youth in the rudiments of faith, and imbuing them with good morals and habits, preach, hear confession, and administer the other sacraments. We deemed that their prayer should be more readily granted, because the Emperor Paul I, then reigning, earnestly recommended the same priests to us in his most friendly letter of the 11th of August, A.D. 1800, in which, after giving expression to his singular good will towards them, he declared that it would be most pleasing unto him if by our authority the Society of Jesus should, for the good of the Catholics in his empire, be there established.

"Wherefore, having carefully weighed the immense advantage which would accrue to those vast regions, almost destitute of evangelical laborers, and the incalculable increase to the Catholic Church which such ecclesiastics, men whose tried morality was heralded and commended by such praises, would bring by their untiring toil, their intense zeal for the salvation of souls, and their unwearied preaching of the Word of God; considering all this, we deemed it consonant to reason to yield to the wishes of so great and beneficent a prince. Therefore, by our letters in form of a brief, dated March 7, 1801, we empowered Francis Karew

and his other associates, residing in the Russian empire, or who might repair thither from other quarters, to assemble as one body or congregation of the Society of Jesus in one or more of such houses, to be nevertheless within the limits of the Russian empire, as the superior should appoint; and we deputed as general of said congregation the said Francis Karew, priest as aforesaid, with necessary and suitable powers, during the pleasure of ourselves and the Apostolic See, so that they might retain and follow the rule of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, approved and confirmed by our predecessor Paul III of happy memory, in his apostolic constitutions, and that the members thus associated in one religious body might imbue youth in religion and morality, might govern seminaries and colleges, and, with the approbation and consent of the ordinaries of the places, freely hear confessions, announce the Word of God, and administer the sacraments; and we took the congregation of the Society of Jesus under our own and the Holy See's immediate patronage and subjection, and reserved to ourselves and our successors the prescribing and decreeing of such things as should seem proper in the Lord to strengthen and secure it, and to remove such abuses and corruptions as might have crept in; and for this purpose we expressly repealed all apostolic constitutions, statutes, customs, privileges, and grants, in whatever way made and confirmed, contrary to these presents, especially the apostolic letters of our said predecessor Clement XIV, beginning 'Dominus et Redemptor noster'; but so far only as they shall be at variance with our said brief granted for the Russian empire only, and beginning 'Catholica.'

"Not long after, we resolved to extend the determination which we had concluded to adopt for the Russian empire to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, at the instance of our most

dear son in Christ, King Ferdinand, who begged of us to establish the Society of Jesus in his dominions and States, in the same manner as it had been established in said empire; because in these most melancholy days he deemed it most called for by the times to employ the labors of the regular clerks of the Society of Jesus, in forming youth to Christian piety and the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom, and in instructing them in science and learning, especially in colleges and public schools. Desirous, as our pastoral office required, to gratify the pious wishes of so illustrious a prince, which had in view naught but God's greater glory and the salvation of souls, we, by a new brief, beginning 'Per alias,' expedited on the thirtieth day of July, A.D. 1804, extended to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies our letters given for the Russian empire.

"Urgent and pressing petitions were daily laid before us from our venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops, and illustrious persons of every rank and class, calling, with the unanimous consent of almost the whole Christian world, for the restoration of the said Society of Jesus, especially when the fame was everywhere spread of the most plenteous fruit which the society has produced in the countries above mentioned; and the fruitful progeny of which, it was thought, would, as it daily increased, give new beauty and extent to the field of the Lord. The dispersion of the very stones of the sanctuary, by the recent calamity and changes, which we can better deplore than recall to mind; the relaxation of discipline in religious orders, splendor and mainstay of the Catholic religion and Church, to the restoration of which our thoughts and solicitude are directed, demand our consent to such just and universal wishes.

"For we should deem ourselves guilty of a most grievous crime in the sight of God, if amid such necessities of the

Christian commonwealth we should neglect to use those wholesome succors with which God in his singular providence supplies us, and if placed in the bark of Peter, now tossed and shaken by unceasing storms, we should turn away stout and able oarsmen who offer themselves to us to break the waves of the tempestuous sea which threatens us each moment with shipwreck and destruction.

"Impelled by so many and so momentous reasons, and by grave causes, we at length resolved to accomplish what in the very threshold of our pontificate we earnestly desired to do.

"Having therefore implored the divine assistance in fervent prayer, and taken the counsels and advice of very many of our venerable brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, we have resolved to ordain and decree, of our certain knowledge and the fulness of the apostolic power, as we do, in fact, by this our constitution ever to remain in force, ordain and decree that all concessions and grants made by us in favor of the Russian empire and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies solely, be now deemed extended and taken as extended, as we truly extend them to our whole ecclesiastical States, as well as all other States and kingdoms.

"Wherefore, we grant and concede to our beloved son, Thaddeus Brozowski, priest, the present general of the Society of Jesus, and to others lawfully deputed by him, all necessary powers, during our good pleasure and that of the Holy See, freely and lawfully to admit and receive all such persons in the said States and kingdoms as desire to be admitted and received into the regular order of the Society of Jesus, who, united in one or more houses, in one or more colleges, in one or more provinces, under the obedience of the general for the time being, and distributed as things will permit, may conform their mode of life to the prescriptions

of the rule of Saint Ignatius Loyola, approved and confirmed by the apostolic constitutions of Paul III; and we also grant and declare that they may likewise freely and lawfully apply themselves to the instruction of youth in the rudiments of the Catholic religion and good morals, and direct seminaries and colleges, and, with the approbation and consent of the ordinaries of the places in which they may happen to dwell, hear confessions, preach the Word of God, and administer the sacraments.

"And we do now and from this time take under our and this Holy See's immediate patronage, protection, and obedience, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members there united, or which or who may thereafter be united or aggregated thereto; reserving to ourselves and the Roman pontiffs, our successors, to ordain and prescribe such things as it shall seem proper to ordain and prescribe, in order to confirm and strengthen the said society more and more, and cleanse it from abuses, if perchance, which God forbid, any may have crept in.

"We further advise and exhort, as far as we can in the Lord, all and singular the superiors, provosts, rectors, members, and scholars of every kind in this society, thus restored, to show themselves in all times and places faithful followers and imitators of their so great Father and founder, observe accurately the rule drawn up and prescribed by him, and endeavor with the utmost zeal to fulfil the useful admonitions and counsels which he delivered to his sons.

"Lastly, we especially commend in the Lord the frequently mentioned Society of Jesus, and the several members thereof, to our beloved sons in Christ, the illustrious and noble men, the temporal princes and lords, and also to our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and others of what dignity soever possessed; and we beg and exhort

them not only not to permit and suffer them, said members, to be disturbed by any one, but also to welcome them with due kindness and charity.

"Decreeing the present letters, and all things contained therein, are and shall be ever and perpetually firm, valid, and efficacious, and shall have and obtain their full and entire effect, and must be inviolably observed by those whom it concerns, and from time to time shall concern, and must thus and not otherwise be also judged and defined by all judges, under what authority soever they act; and that anything which may happen to be attempted to the contrary hereof, by any one, under any authority, knowingly, is null and void.

"Notwithstanding the apostolic constitutions and ordinances, and especially the aforesaid letters, in the form of a brief, of Clement XIV of happy memory, beginning 'Dominus et Redemptor noster,' expedited under the signet of the fisherman, on the twenty-first day of July, A.D. 1773, which to give effect to these presents we hereby intend expressly and specially to repeal, and all others whatever to the contrary.

"And it is our will that absolutely the same credit, in and out of judicial proceedings, be given to transcripts or copies of these letters, even printed, subscribed by the hand of some notary public, and attested by the seal of some person in ecclesiastical dignity, as would be given to these presents if produced and shown.

"Let no man, therefore, presume to infringe, or with bold rashness oppose this deed of our ordination, statute, extension, concession, grant, declaration, faculty, taking, reservation, admonition, exhortation, decree, and repeal.

"Should any one presume to attempt it, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1814, on the seventh day of August, in the fifteenth year of our pontificate."

Pius VII rewarded the friendship of Lucien Bonaparte, and gave him a right of residence by creating him Prince of Canino.

On the 26th of September the pope for the first time addressed an allocution to the Sacred College, resuming the affairs which had occurred since the last occasion of his addressing them in Rome.

The pope now resumed his old quiet habits in the Quirinal Palace; he received the felicitations of the Catholic princes, and even of those whom he could not number among his flock. He sought to restore the true relation of affairs in France, to recover the legations held by Austria, and to induce Murat to renounce unjust pretensions. The affairs of more remote lands, so long overlooked, now claimed his care: he sought to raise up in Italy, as in France, Hospital Nuns and Sisters of Charity; he endowed pious establishments in the United States; he reorganized the laws of his States, pardoned the erring, relieved suffering provinces; in a word, he began to infuse a new life into every branch of his government, whether of his States or of the Church.

Suddenly, however, Europe started from its slumber. Napoleon, spurning Elba, landed in France. The news filled Rome with alarm. Eliza, who had been governess-general of Tuscany, said: "Bonaparte is in France; if he is arrested, we must hold the pope as a hostage." Murat demanded passage for twelve thousand men. Pius VII refused it, and resolved to leave Rome. Notifying the diplomatic corps of his departure, he set out on the 22d of March, 1815, on hearing that the Neapolitans had entered Terracina. Rome was to

be governed by a junta composed of Cardinal la Somaglia and the prelates Reganti, San Severino, Falzacappa, Ercolani, Giustiniani, and Rivaroli. The pope proceeded to Leghorn, and there requested the commandant of the English frigate Aboukir to convey him to Genoa, but that officer replied that his vessel was intended to carry the merchandise of His Britannic Majesty's subjects. Pius, accordingly, continued by land to the Gulf of Spezzia, whence he sailed for Genoa. In giving audience to M. de Pressigny, the French ambassador, the pontiff used these remarkable words: "Ambassador, have no fears; this is a storm which will last three months." Pius VII had measured the new reign within ten days.

Napoleon reached Paris on the 20th of March, and reorganized his government. His foreign minister, Caulaincourt, at once addressed Cardinal Pacca, and on the 4th of April Napoleon himself addressed the pope a letter full of expressions of peace and devotion to the Holy See. Cardinal Fesch was despatched as minister to Rome, and directed to declare that the emperor had no designs upon the temporal possessions of the pope, thus dispensing with all political questions. As to spiritual matters, His Majesty adhered to the bull issued at Savona, inasmuch as the French clergy attached importance to that bull, though for the present the emperor would not touch ecclesiastical affairs. He desired, however, that the pope would give canonical institution to the bishops nominated before his departure from Fontainebleau.

But Napoleon's career was too brief to enable men to see whether his course would undergo any change. Waterloo overthrew absolutely the new empire, and he who had treated the pope so harshly became a prisoner.

The pope soon after left Genoa and returned to Rome, stopping at Savona to offer up his devotions before a picture

of the Blessed Virgin, where he had knelt and fervently implored the divine assistance in 1811.

On this fourth entrance he was received with sincere joy by his people, and this time was completely free, Murat, whose occupancy of Rome had made his stay so perilous, having fled after experiencing two crushing defeats from the Austrians, whom he had engaged successively near Reggio and Tolentino.

The Congress of Vienna, which settled the relative position of the European States, and with such judgment that it secured comparative peace to Europe for half a century, by the one hundred and third article of the treaty thus established the temporal power of the pope:

"The Marches, with Camerino and their dependencies, as well as the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte Corvo, are restored to the Holy See, which re-enters into possession of the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, excepting the part of Ferrara lying beyond the left bank of the Po. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and his successors, will have a right to garrison the posts of Ferrara and Comacchio."

All now awaited the return of Cardinal Consalvi, to return him thanks for a success due so much to his extraordinary ability. Nor could it be overlooked that the courageous resistance of Pius VII had induced the powers to perform this great act of reparation and justice.

Cardinal Consalvi at first, amid the plenipotentiaries assembled at Vienna, the heads of so many powerful nations, had no influence, and his qualities were unrecognized; but he was soon sought. Ere long, initiated in the secrets of all, asking only what was notoriously just, seasonably advancing the virtues, the noble character, the gentleness of his master, the wise principles of the Roman court, he won the good will

of all. Those most diverse in religious sentiment were the warmest in their demonstrations of appreciation. Served by such talents, and by the high reputation which Pius VII had acquired in Europe with men of every creed, Rome obtained what she claimed. Her nuncios were allowed the right of precedence in ceremonies before all ambassadors, even those of other creeds, and of addressing sovereigns in the name of the diplomatic body. (Prussia alone objected.)

Cardinal Consalvi returned to announce to the pope that his States were to be more flourishing and secure than they had been since the days of Charlemagne. Cardinal Fesch now sought an asylum in Rome, which Pius readily granted; and he welcomed with pontifical kindness the mother of the fallen emperor. During his last absence from Rome the junta in whose hands he had left the management of affairs had thought proper to confine Cardinal Maury in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

On the 4th of September the pope addressed an allocution to the cardinals. He mentioned the restitution of the legations by Austria, which had yielded in the matter to the urgency of France, England, and Russia. The pope then recapitulated his recent acts, and thanked especially those princes who, unfortunately separated from the Church of which he was the head, had so nobly upheld the justice of his claims. These were the Emperor of Russia, the Prince Regent of England, the kings of Prussia and Sweden. For the loss of Avignon he expected indemnity; and the occupation of part of Ferrara would, he hoped, be but temporary.

Cardinal Consalvi had not neglected the interests of religion. One of his great objects was the freedom of Catholicism in the British empire. For this he had made a visit to London. His negotiations with the British government had undoubtedly some influence; but they excited the most intense suspicion in the heart of the Irish and even of the

English Catholics. It was believed, indeed, that a party of the more aristocratic English Catholics proposed to give the English government the nomination to the bishoprics. The Irish Catholics, seeing in this only a continuation of their degraded position, and a new rivet in their chains, feared that the minister of Pius VII was betraying them into the hands of their enemies, and that they were no longer to be free even in the house of God, but must look up to minions of British power for the ministrations of religion.

The pope now, through Canova, reclaimed from France the works of art of which the Holy See had been stripped. Louis XVIII was reluctant to deprive his capital of so much beauty. He cited the treaty of Tolentino, but the pontifical government replied: "In the treaty of Paris, and in the Congress of Vienna, no mention was made of the treaty of Tolentino; none of the many treaties made with Bonaparte were upheld; they even took back the archduchess sent to Paris, and with her the child of which he is the father. Will you set aside treaties between lion and lion, to uphold a treaty between a wolf and a lamb?"

Many States recovered their fine works; but Canova deemed it more prudent to leave as presents the colossal statue of Tiber, a Pallas, and a Melpomene. Yet, even yielding these, he found it difficult to find means or men to transport the other works from Paris.

The French government was hardly yet in full relation with Rome. There was no nuncio at Paris, and Louis XVIII was not certain whether to accept the concordat of 1801 or not. He finally, though prematurely, announced that he had induced all the bishops of the old hierarchy to resign absolutely, and then prepared to initiate negotiations for a new and, as it were, spontaneous concordat, in which the former would be absorbed.

Restored to his position in Rome, Pius VII resolved to fill

up once more the vacancies in the Sacred College, and, in 1816, created twenty-eight cardinals, among whom were the courageous Monsignor de Gregorio, Fontana, author of the bull, and the prelates Della Genga, Caleppi, Severoli, Castiglioni, and George Doria.

A discussion sprang up with the Neapolitan government in regard to the old tribute of the palfrey, but it is unnecessary here to follow the negotiations.

On the 6th of July, 1816, the pope, by a motu proprio, reorganized his States. This had been required of him at the Congress of Vienna, had been agreed to by Consalvi, and was now carried out by Pius VII. Yet it was in itself unfortunate. It was an adoption of French systems, and, to a certain extent, a destruction of old municipal rights. The law was preceded by an introduction treating of uniformity of systems, centralization of power, the independence of the judiciary, the division of the States into provinces, and, finally, the responsibility of agents. A series of codes was announced, embracing a civil code, codes of civil and criminal procedure, commercial and penal codes. At this time the States of the Church contained two million three hundred and fifty-four thousand seven hundred and nineteen inhabitants, divided in eighteen delegations, forty-four districts, and seven hundred and twenty-six municipalities.

On the 25th of August, 1816, the Count de Blacas, French minister at Rome, signed a convention, in fourteen articles, with the Holy See, somewhat resembling that agreed upon the next year, and known as the concordat of 1817. The pope, at the same time, wrote to Louis XVIII, complaining of the bad faith of the constitutional bishops, and complaining that the old bishops had not only refused to resign, but had, by writing and conduct, assailed the Holy See. "We willingly forget the offences offered to us personally, but we

cannot forget those offered to the authority and dignity of the Church and of its head. Now, in case any of these bishops are nominated to sees, they cannot obtain canonical institution from us, unless they first give the Church and the Holy See suitable satisfaction."

All the old bishops had not, however, resigned; and Louis now asked that, as a condition of their resignation, all the bishops of the concordat of 1801 should resign. The illness of the pope prevented any action on this proposition.

In 1817 the pontifical government took possession of the papers of Cardinal York, which had fallen into private hands and were about to be removed. Some, it is supposed, were sent to the King of Sardinia, and the rest delivered to the English government.

The court of Vienna had sought to regulate some affairs concerning the organization of the clergy, the sale of several ecclesiastical domains, and the navigation of the Po. These treaties were signed, and the ratifications arrived from Vienna on the 26th of January, 1817.

The pontifical government sought gradually to withdraw itself from Austrian influence; but this had at first been so overwhelming that the first retrograde steps had to be slow and measured. Rome organized a military force sufficient to show its independence, guard its frontiers, and maintain the tranquillity of the provinces. It was only six thousand strong, but it was proposed to increase it gradually to twice that strength. When it reached that, it was in view to seek the restoration of Ferrara.

Meanwhile, negotiations with Bavaria, which had been for a time suspended, were restored on a proper footing; and a similar state of affairs prevailed with Piedmont. The King of Naples, to avoid the long-disputed claims of Rome as to investiture and tribute, dropped his former title, and de-

clared himself King of the Two Sicilies. The pope protested against any diminution of his rights by a mere change of name; and the court of the King of the Two Sicilies replied by a very positive counter-protest, in which it declared that it recognized no right of the sovereign pontiff, except such as he possessed as head of the Church over all Catholics.

At this moment the King of Spain solicited and obtained a bull permitting him to levy for six years unusual imposts on the clergy.

Pius VII had, as we have seen, welcomed the Bonapartes in his dominions, and had invested Lucien with a title; but the allied powers did not regard the family of the fallen emperor with generosity, and remonstrances were made with the Holy Father, who was compelled to subject them to a surveillance foreign to his character.

In the year 1817 Cardinal Maury, who had incurred the displeasure of the Holy See by his too evident yielding to the Napoleonic ideas, died at Rome, at the age of seventy-one, restored to favor, and enjoying a pension liberally granted to him by the Holy Father. Cardinal Maury is well known by his famous Essay on Pulpit Eloquence, and by his Panegyric on Saint Louis.

The French government modified the first plan of concordat, and after much vacillation and uncertainty, arising from their ignorance of what they really desired, a new concordat was signed by Cardinal Consalvi and De Blacas, the French ambassador, on the 11th of June, 1817.

On the 19th of July Pius VII published a bull confirming the concordat; and on the 27th another, giving the circumscription of ninety-two dioceses. The next day he addressed the cardinals on the matter, in an allocution, and at the same time named as cardinals Alexander Angelic de Talleyrand, former Archbishop of Rheims, Cæsar William de la Luzerne,

former Bishop of Langres, and Louis Francis de Bausset, former Bishop of Alais. He then declared two cardinals reserved in petto, Francis Césarini de Léoni, dean of the Rota, and Anthony Lante, dean of the apostolic chamber.

On the 9th of August a concordat was signed with Piedmont, and that court became entitled to a nuncio of the first rank, who, after his years of nunciature, should be promoted to the cardinalate.

On the 28th of January, 1818, a concordat was signed with M. d'Italinski, for Poland. In this treaty with Russia it was decided to erect an archbishopric at Warsaw, and eight episcopal sees in the new kingdom; and very moderate fees were stipulated for the bulls of institution.

On the 16th of February a concordat was agreed upon with the King of Naples.

While Pius VII was thus bringing into harmonious concord the relations of the various powers with the Holy See, he received through Mr. Harcourt, English minister at Naples, a letter addressed to the pope by the Prince Regent of England. This first direct and new intercourse between the Holy See and the court of London made a great sensation at Rome, and gave hope that the English government, which had already placed a consul-general in the Roman States, would soon send a minister.

The vacillating French court finally withdrew its consent to the concordat of June 11, 1817, and sent M. Portalis to Rome to reopen negotiations and treat the concordat as the result of a mutual error. They wished, in fact, to fall back on the concordat of 1801, which Pius VII had abandoned reluctantly; but that step taken, the new concordat confirmed by bull, bishops nominated, and thirty-four of them instituted, he saw no means of rescinding it.

The health of Pius VII was feeble, especially subsequent

to a fall which he met with on the 26th of June, 1817, accompanied by alarming circumstances; and he was the more anxious to bring the affairs of the Church in France to a definite form. He accordingly addressed a bull to Cardinal de Périgord, and solicited the advice of the French bishops. Louis XVIII, however, full of the old ideas of the days of the parliaments, appellants, and philosophers, retained the bull. On the 30th of May, 1819, the bishops, to the number of forty, wrote warmly to the pope. Pius VII replied by a brief, which finally arranged all.

Rome was, meanwhile, visited by several sovereigns and princes. The Emperor Francis, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, ex-Empress of France, the Archduke Michael, brother of Alexander I of Russia, were all received in the Eternal City. There, too, in January, 1819, died Mary Louise, ex-Queen of Spain, soon followed to the grave by her husband, Charles IV. The same year witnessed the death, in the Jesuit Novitiate, of Charles Emmanuel IV, ex-King of Sardinia.

The Protestant princes of Germany, through their envoys, Turckheim and Smyth, presented to the pope a "Declaration of the Protestant Princes and States united in the Germanic Confederation," to which Pius VII replied by an exposition. After praising the zeal of these princes, the sovereign pontiff objected to a statement that the Church "is ruled by the bishops," ignoring his authority; he also objected to the attempted distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental articles, substantial and accidental principles. He firmly refused the proposal made to style the Catholic Church, in those States, the Christian Catholic Church.

Coming to things more important than these, matters foreign to the treaty, the pope took up the proposed alterations in the election of bishops, which he disapproved. He wished

the choice confined to the canons, but expressed his willingness to grant the princes what he had proposed to the English government in the matter of the Irish bishops. "The chapter, before proceeding to a canonical election, will hand to the local government a list of candidates. The government may exclude such as are not pleasing, provided enough are left on the list for the free election of the bishop."

The pope wished the see of the archbishop to be at Mainz, in the centre of the five dioceses comprising the new province. This see was selected to maintain the glory and renown of Saint Boniface, which had for more than ten centuries shed lustre on that city.

The various States adopted the views of Pius VII, and requested him to proceed to the allotment of dioceses.

George IV, as King of Hanover, accrediting anew the former minister, instead of closing in the usual formal style, commended himself to the most pious prayers of His Holiness; and Pius VII rejoiced at this further token of a tendency in England to enter into nearer relations with Rome. He directed the reply to the letter to be as near as possible in the terms usually addressed to Catholic sovereigns.

Troubles in Spain at this time created some difficulty, while a revolution in Naples placed the pope in jeopardy. The new government seized Benevento and Ponte Corvo, and both Austrians and Neapolitans invaded the papal territory. Pius VII insisted that the Austrians should not enter Rome, and in February, 1821, apartments were prepared for the pope at Civita Vecchia, and French frigates anchored there to protect him if necessary; but the Austrians soon repressed the revolution in Naples, and restored King Ferdinand.

In 1818 application was made to the Holy See for a clergyman to proceed to Saint Helena, to act as chaplain to the

fallen emperor. The first choice fell on one who proved, on examination, not worthy. At the instance of Cardinal Fesch, a Corsican clergyman, Bonavita, was sent, and Pius VII interceded with the British government to lighten the captivity of the great warrior. When he heard of Napoleon's death he permitted a funeral service to be celebrated at Rome by Cardinal Fesch, and expressed himself in consoling words. He inquired as to his last moments, and was most anxious to feel assured that he died in the peace of the Lord. He was attended in his dying hours by Rev. M. Vignali, who had succeeded Bonavita.

In 1821 a concordat was signed with Prussia, which, as enlarged by the treaty of Vienna, contained a large Catholic population, whom it treated with kindness. Pius VII, in an allocution of August 3, 1821, expressed his gratitude for this. By the concordat the archbishopric of Gnesen was transferred to Posen; and the bishops of Heilsberg, Culm, and Breslau were made suffragans. To the Archbishop of Cologne were assigned, as suffragans, Paderborn, Treves, and Münster. The see of Aix-la-Chapelle was suppressed.

Austria also asked some arrangement in regard to the dioceses of Prague and Olmütz. It was agreed that these two archbishoprics should alternately exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the kingdom of Prussia.

On the 13th of September, 1821, the pope issued a bull against the Carbonari, a secret political society formed for revolutionary purposes in Italy.

The army was also reorganized, and out of a population of two million four hundred and ten thousand, one man in five thousand was enrolled. The carbineers, or gendarmes, who had replaced the sbirri, were also reorganized.

On the 22d of April, 1822, Pius, whose feebleness daily increased, fell between his armchair and his prayer-desk. His

attendants ran in and raised him. He had received no injury beyond a slight bruise in the side, of which he soon recovered.

Rome soon after lost her great sculptor Canova, and the pope ordered the most solemn honors to be paid to him in a funeral service, which was attended by the diplomatic body, foreign princes, the Roman nobility, the learned and literary societies, and the academies of art.

In 1822, at the instance of the King of France, and on his nomination, Pius VII created, as cardinal, De Clermont Tonnerre, and on the 10th of March, 1823, Monsignor Bertazzoli, Archbishop of Edessa, together with Monsignor Frosini, majordomo, Monsignor Piazio and Prince Charles Odescalchi, who subsequently renounced the purple to end his days in the odor of sanctity as a humble member of the Society of Jesus. On the 16th of May Pius VII elevated to the purple also De la Fare, Archbishop of Sens, although he would have preferred giving the hat to De Boulogne or Frayssinous. Dom Placidus Zurla, a Camaldolensian, was appointed cardinal at the same time.

The venerable pope had nearly reached the years of Peter. The 6th of July was the fourteenth anniversary of his seizure in the Quirinal Palace by General Radet. On that day the pope drove out in his carriage, and even walked a little for exercise. In the evening he dismissed his attendants, and conversed for a time with his auditor. His Holiness then remained alone, although Cardinal Consalvi, after his two falls, had urged the attendants never to leave him absolutely alone.

The aged pontiff, about six in the evening, being alone, rose from his chair, and, leaning with one hand on the bureau before it, sought with the other a cord balustrade which went round his room. He missed it; his foot slipped, and he fell. He cried for help; his attendants rushed in and laid him on his bed. He complained of acute pain in his left side, and, as

soon as surgical aid was procured, it was discovered that the neck of the femur was fractured.

For a week the pope was kept in ignorance of the gravity of his condition. When informed of it, he received the news with the same serenity and fortitude that had distinguished him in the vicissitudes of his life. He lingered for six weeks, the object of affectionate solicitude to all Rome. It was while in this state of anxiety that all Rome was startled one morning by news so melancholy, and so naturally connected with the august patient, that in ancient times it would have been considered a portent beyond statues sweating blood in the Forum, or victims speaking in the temples. It was rumored that the great basilica of Saint Paul's beyond the walls was burned down and was already only a heap of smoking ruins.

It was too true, though it seemed hard to conceive how it was possible. The walls were of massive bricks, the pavement a patchwork of ancient inscribed marbles, the pillars of matchless Phrygian marble in the central, and of inferior marble in the lateral aisles, for it was a five-aisled church. There were no flues or fires at any time, certainly not during the dog-days. Like Achilles, these old churches have their one vulnerable point, though its situation is reversed. The open cedar roof, sodden dry and scorched to cinder through ages of exposure, under a scanty tiling, to a burning sun, forms an unresisting prey to the destructive wantonness of a single spark.

It was just the usual story. Plumbers had been working on that roof, and had left a pan of coals upon one of the beams. Every sort of rumor was, however, started and believed. It was confidently reported to be the work of incendiaries, and part of an atrocious plan to destroy the sacred monuments of Rome.

"It was not till the afternoon," says a chronicler of the period, "that either the heat of the season or the occupations of the day permitted one to go far beyond the gates, though the sad news had penetrated into every nook of the city at sunrise. Melancholy indeed was the scene. The tottering external walls were all that was permitted to be seen, even from a respectful distance; for it was impossible to know how long they would stand.

"A clear space was therefore kept around, in which the skilful and intrepid fire-brigade, an admirably organized body, were using all their appliances to prevent the flames breaking out from the smouldering ruins. There, among others, was the enthusiastic Avvocato Fea, almost frantic with grief. He was not merely an antiquarian in sculptures and inscriptions; he was deeply versed in ecclesiastical history, and loved most dearly its monuments. Saint Paul's was one of the most venerable and most precious of these. The very abandonment of the huge pile, standing in solitary grandeur on the banks of the Tiber, was one source of its value. While it had been kept in perfect repair, little or nothing had been done to modernize it and alter its primitive form and ornaments, excepting the later addition of some modern chapels above the transept; it stood naked and almost rude, but unencumbered with the lumpish and tasteless plaster encasement of the old basilica in a modern Berninesque church, which had disfigured the Lateran cathedral under the pretence of supporting it. It remained genuine, though bare, as Saint Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna, the city eminently of unspoiled basilicas. No chapels, altars, or mural monuments softened the severity of its outlines; only the series of papal portraits, running round the upper line of the walls, redeemed this sternness. But the unbroken files of columns along each side carried the eye forward to the great central object, the

altar and its 'Confession'; while the secondary rows of pillars running behind the principal ones gave depth and shadow, mass and solidity, to back up the noble avenue along which one glanced. Among the constant and bewildered cries of Fea was: 'Save the triumphal arch!' He made light now, apparently, of the rest. The term is applied to the great arch which, supported on two massive pillars, closes the nave, or rather separates it from the transept and apse beyond. Above this arch rises a wall, clothed in mosaic, so happily revived and perfected in the Theodosian period. The triumphal arch of Saint Paul's still towered nobly among the ruins, almost unscathed, as did the Gothic ciborium or marble canopy over the altar. On the face of the arch remained the majestic figure of our Lord in glory, and round it a metrical inscription in which the Empress Galla Placidia recounted how, assisted by the great pontiff Leo, she had finished the decorations of the church built by preceding emperors.

"This mosaic was, in some sort, the very title-deed of the modern church, its evidence of identity with the imperial basilica. To preserve it just where it had stood for one thousand four hundred years would be almost to annul the effects of the conflagration: it would make the new edifice a continuation of the old. This was attended to. One of the first steps taken was carefully to remove all that remained of the ancient mosaic, by the skilful hands of the Vatican workmen in that exquisite art; and one of the last was to restore it to its place over the rebuilt arch."

Not a word, however, was spoken to the sick pontiff on this dreadful calamity. At Saint Paul's he had lived as a quiet monk, engaged in study and in teaching, and he loved the place with the force of an early attachment. It would have added a mental pang to his bodily sufferings to learn

the total destruction of that venerable sanctuary, in which he had drawn down, by prayer, the blessings of heaven on his youthful labor.

In this happy ignorance the revered patient lingered on. To reunite the fractured bone, at his age, was beyond the power of surgery; his feebleness increased, and he seemed to be slowly sinking; when, on the 16th of August, more active symptoms supervened, especially delirium. On the following day the holy pontiff expressed his desire to receive the Viaticum; and it was administered to him by Cardinal Bertazzoli. Thus, strengthened with the Bread of Angels, he calmly awaited his end. On the 18th he was quite tranquil; but the next day the worst symptoms manifested themselves. The pope pronounced vaguely the words, "Savona—Fontainebleau." Then his voice changed; sounds of Latin words showed that he was at prayer. He received extreme unction, and orders were sent to all the churches to recite in every Mass the prayer "for the pontiff at the point of death." While it was being said all through Rome, on the following morning, at five o'clock, the venerable man closed his glorious pontificate, and fell asleep in the Lord.

Thus died the sovereign pontiff Pius VII, at the age of eighty-one years and six days, after a reign of twenty-three years, five months, and six days. His body was embalmed, and, arrayed in the white soutane, with the stole and pectoral cross, remained exposed on a state bed in one of the halls of the palace. The noble guard, an institution dating only from the commencement of the reign of Pius VII, kept guard within, four of these officers remaining near the body. An immense crowd covered the Piazza of Monte Cavallo, struggling to obtain entrance, which was accorded only to a few at a time. The next day, the 22d, at 9 A.M., the body was conveyed to the Vatican. The cortège, preceded by detachments of cav-

alry and numerous servitors of His Holiness bearing crosses, moved slowly through the crowd. Seven pieces of artillery, with their caissons, followed. The pontiff's body was exposed in a litter drawn by two mules. The chief officers of his household and the twelve penitentiaries of Saint Peter surrounded it; but no priest in the habit of his order attended, no religious chant was heard. The head of the corpse was covered with the pontifical hat. To the sound of martial music, and with the parade rather of a general, is the sovereign pontiff borne to the temple. Such is the usage.

The funeral ceremonies, called novendiali, were celebrated in the usual form and with the time-honored pomp.

"Without entering into any general considerations on the subject of government," says Cardinal Wiseman, "or discussing its best forms, or even expressing any opinion about them, but, on the other hand, judging things in their own times and places, and by the only principles then and there applicable to them, one may say unhesitatingly that the government of Pius VII, through his minister Consalvi, was just, liberal, and enlightened. No doubt, had that sovereign re-enacted the laws under which his subjects had groaned as an oppression, and re-established the republic which they still detested as a usurpation; had he acted in the teeth of all Europe, in spite of every principle which guided its sovereigns and statesmen in his restoration; had he even thereby risked for himself another catastrophe, and for Italy another war, there might nowadays be many who would extol him as a hero, and almost deify him as a man beyond and above his age. Had he acted so, however, at that time, he would have been ridiculed, deserted, and abused by all parties, Whig or Tory, conservative or radical, as a fanatic, an unseasonable phenomenon, a man behind the age, which had outgrown revolutionary fancies; in fine, a dotard who had

better have been translated from the cell of a prison to that of an asylum, than restored from exile to a throne. We doubt if even the sorry compliment of a newspaper paragraph would have been paid him for his pains.

"He was restored, as pope, to the temporal government of the portion of Italy held by his predecessors, without share in the warlike achievements of other princes, without a claim to the prizes of their victories. He was restored concurrently by Protestant and Catholic powers, with the applause of the civilized world, and amidst the acclamations of joy, or rather in accordance with the longings, of his own subjects. He was restored on the principle which formed the basis of all restorations at the time, that Europe, so long convulsed and so long unsettled, should return to the normal state from which she had been wrenched. Empires were restored as empires, kingdoms resettled as kingdoms, grand duchies as grand duchies, republics as republics. And so the pope was given back to Rome, to rule as popes had done, by a system exceptional, and in a form the loss of which experience had proved to be hurtful. The independence of the pope, that is, the combination in one of spiritual rule over the whole Catholic Church with a temporal limited sovereignty, had been sensibly demonstrated to be an important element in the readjustment of Europe. The evils resulting from the subjection of the common Father of all the faithful to one of his more powerful children had been universally felt; and the continuation of such an irregular condition by a peaceful subjugation of the ecclesiastical to any lay power would have been only providing for the habitual derangement of religious action."

Neither of the foreign occupations, the republican or the imperial, lasted sufficiently long to interrupt that succession of men devoted to study which Italy, and especially Rome,

has always kept up. Indeed, after the restoration, there yet survived veterans who had gathered their first laurels on the fields of a peaceful country, unconscious for generations of a hostile invasion.

Such, for instance, was the antiquarian Fea, one of those men of the old school, like the Scaligers, the Vosii, or rather Grævius and Gronovius, who could bring to the illustration of any subject a mass of erudition from every imaginable source, from classics or Fathers, from medals, vases, bas-reliefs, or unheeded fragments of antique objects hidden amidst the rubbish of museum magazines.

At the period on which we are engaged, science was efficiently represented in Rome. Professors Conti and Calandrelli are well known in the annals of astronomy for the regularity and accuracy of their observations in the Roman observatory, published annually, and by other valuable contributions to mathematical science in its highest branches. They were inseparable companions and most faithful friends, and though the latter had retired from public duties, many persons attended the lectures of the former. Pius VII encouraged first, then chartered and endowed, an academy or society for practical science, established by Professor Scarpellini, with its seat in the capital. Dr. Morichini, besides being a most able physician, was the friend and often the co-laborer of Sir Humphry Davy, who made many experiments at the Sapienza in Rome, to which he was warmly attached. Dr. Morichini was the first who discovered and applied the magnetizing power of the violet ray in the prism.

It would be easy to add a list of names of persons well versed in science who then lived and wrote, as Mai, Deani, Settele, Richebach, Vagnuzzi, and the numerous professors at the university; but names like those of Father Vico and

Father Secchi are still better known to scientific Europe, in proof that Rome is not behind other great cities in its scientific attainments.

The reign of Pius VII was, in spite of its vicissitudes, most propitious for art. What has been said about language may, in some measure, be extended to this. The condition to which it had sunk could only be remedied by the complete transfer of affection and principle from it to a better, indeed a faultless, period. And what could that be but classical art, alone supreme in sculpture? There was, in fact, no other school. The early Christian, that of the Pisans, was itself a noble effort to revive the beauties of the heathen school, chastened by the feelings of a better religion; the strong development by Michelangelo was the burst of individual genius, not to be imitated with impunity by any less than himself. The intermediate period presented neither models sufficient, nor principles distinct enough, to become the basis of a new system in the glyptic art. To Canova undoubtedly belongs the praise of having revived, or raised from a low state of affectation, exaggeration, and meanness of conception, this simplest of artistic resources for exciting grand ideas of God's noblest earthly creation in the mind of the being on whom he conferred that dignity. Canova's monument of Clement XIV took the world of art by surprise; and his return to the simple beauty, the calm attitudes, the quiet folds, the breadth and majesty of ancient works, soon put him at the head of a European school. And if he has been surpassed in some things by his followers, for example, by the great Dane, Thorwaldsen, it must never be forgotten that no step in excellence, not even the last to perfection, is equal to the stride from grovelling degradation to healthy action and truthful principle; especially when this

at once places him who makes it in a pre-eminence that becomes a standard for rival excellence. And such certainly was Canova's position.

After his restoration Pius VII continued his interrupted work. It is recorded of Fray Luis de Leon, the eminent Spanish professor, that, having been suspended from his chair for five years through hostile intrigue, and having been triumphantly restored, his lecture-room was crowded to hear, as it was hoped, his indignant vindication of himself. If they were disappointed, they were doubtless edified, when the audience heard him quietly commence by, "In yesterday's lesson we were saying," and continue the subject of his last lecture. It was with just such serenity that the good pontiff calmly resumed the works of his glorious reign. The gallery which more especially bears his name, and which crosses the great Belvedere court of the Vatican, is one of the most beautiful portions of the Museum. It seems indeed wonderful how such a building could have been erected, richly decorated, and filled with masterpieces of art, in so short a time.

To the library Pius made considerable additions, not only of manuscripts, but of many thousands of printed volumes. Among these was a magnificent collection of Bibles and Biblical works. The Pantheon had long been to Rome what Santa Croce was to Florence, and Westminster Abbey to England—the mausoleum of great men. The busts of distinguished Italians were arranged round its walls, and gave a profane appearance to the church. By order of the sovereign pontiff a new gallery was prepared in the Capitol, under the name of Protomotheca; and in one night of 1820 the whole of the busts were removed from the Pantheon and carried thither.

Even greater glory redounds to the reign of Pius VII from

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his having commenced the work of excavations round ancient monuments which has been continued to the present day, and has done more for solid antiquarian learning than any previous study. Former excavations had been carried on mainly to obtain works of art, and were filled up again as fast as made. But in 1807 the Arch of Septimius Severus, which had been more than half buried in the ground, was cleared of all rubbish, and an open space left all round it. A spur was added to the Colosseum to prevent the walls from falling.

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LEO XII—A.D. 1823

THE interval between the close of one pontificate and the commencement of another is a period of some excitement, and necessarily of much anxiety.

In elective monarchy, and in the only one surviving in Europe, there is of course a space of provisional arrangements, foreseen and predisposed. Time is required for the electors to assemble from distant provinces or even foreign countries; and this is occupied in paying the last tribute of respect and affection to the departed pontiff. His body is embalmed, clothed in the robes of his office, of the penitential color, and laid on a couch of state within one of the chapels in Saint Peter's, so that the faithful may not only see it, but kiss its feet.

These preliminaries occupy three days, during which rises, as if by magic, or from the crypts below, an immense catafalque, a colossal architectural structure, which fills the nave of that basilica, illustrated by inscriptions and adorned by

statuary. Before this huge monument, for nine days, funeral rites are performed, closed by a funeral oration. The body of the last pope has a uniform resting-place in Saint Peter's. A plain sarcophagus of marbled stucco will be there seen, though hardly noticed, by the traveller, over a door beside the choir, on which is simply painted the title of the latest pontiff. On the death of his successor it is broken down at the top, the coffin is removed to the under church, and that of the new claimant for repose is substituted for it. This change takes place late in the evening, and is considered private.

In the afternoon of the last day of the novendiali, as they are called, the cardinals assemble in a church near the Quirinal Palace, and walk thence in procession, accompanied by their conclavisti, a secretary, a chaplain, and a servant or two, to the great gate of that royal residence in which one will remain as master and supreme lord. Of course the hill is crowded by persons lining the avenue kept open for the procession. Cardinals never before seen by them, or not for many years, pass before them; eager eyes scan and measure them, and try to conjecture, from fancied omens in eye or figure or expression, who will be shortly the sovereign of their fair city, and, what is much more, the head of the Catholic Church from the rising to the setting sun. They all enter equal over the threshold of that gate; they share together the supreme rule, temporal and spiritual; there is still embosomed in them all the voice, yet silent, that will soon sound from one tongue over all the world, and the dormant germ of that authority which will soon again be concentrated in one man alone. To-day they are all equal; perhaps to-morrow one will sit enthroned, and all the rest will kiss his feet; one will be sovereign, the others his subjects; one the shepherd, and the others his flock.

This is a singular and a deeply interesting moment, a scene not easily forgotten. There pass before us men of striking figure and of regal aspect. There is the great statesman of whom we have spoken, somewhat bowed by grief and infirmity, yet still retaining his brilliant gaze. There is the courteous, yet intrepid, Pacca, tall and erect, with a bland look that covers a sterling and high-principled heart; there is the truly venerable and saintly De Gregorio, lately a prisoner for his fidelity, with snow-white head, and less firm step than his companion—Galeffi, less intellectual in features, but with a calm, genial look that makes him a general favorite; Opizzoni, Archbishop of Bologna, who had boldly asserted the claims of papal over imperial authority in regard to his counsels, in a manner that caused his imprisonment; beloved and venerated by his flock, and admired at Rome, dignified and amiable in look. There were many others whose names have not remained inscribed so deeply in the annals of the time, or have not retained their hold on the memory of its survivors. But one was there who no doubt entered as he came out—without a flutter of anxiety, when he faced the gate on either side. This was Odescalchi, young still, most noble in rank and in heart, with saintliness marked in his countenance, and probably already meditating his retreat from dignity and office, and the exchange of the purple robe for the novice's black gown. Many who preferred holiness to every other qualification looked on his modest features with hope, perhaps, that they might soon glow beneath the ponderous tiara. But God had said: "Look not on his countenance, nor on the height of his stature. Nor do I judge according to the look of men; for man seeth the things that appear, but the Lord beholdeth the heart" (1 Reg. xvi. 7).

On this occasion, when the cardinals assembled after the death of Pius VII, Cardinal della Somaglia, dean, stated that

he had received from his predecessor some papers, with orders not to open them till after the pope's death, and in presence of the Sacred College assembled. On opening them His Eminence found two briefs, dated at Fontainebleau. By the first the pope ordered the cardinals to assemble at once under the presidency of the cardinal dean, and, derogating from the ancient constitutions, to consider only the force of circumstances and the dangers of the Church, and to elect a pope with the least possible delay by a plurality of votes. The second brief contained the same dispositions, except that the pope required, according to ancient custom, a vote of two thirds to constitute a valid election. Monsignor Mazio, secretary of the Sacred College, then declared that he was the depositary of a third brief, which, by the pope's orders, he had drawn up and retained. This brief was dated in October, 1821, contemporaneous with the bull against the Carbonari. The Holy Father ordered them to proceed to an election as soon as possible after his death, if possible by acclamation, and, so to say, over his expiring body; that the election should be secret, and without waiting for cardinals absent from Rome, without notifying the accredited ministers, without informing the courts, without taking any steps regarding his funeral till it was accomplished. The Holy Father, with most pathetic expressions, recommended union; reminding the cardinals that they were almost all created by him, and that gratitude, together with a love for religion and their country, should insure their obedience. This last brief caused great emotion. Yet the Sacred College felt that none of these briefs, under the present altered circumstances, required adoption.

The conclave proceeded, therefore, in the usual form. It began on the 22d of September, 1823.

The conclave, which formerly used to take place in the

Vatican, was on this occasion, and has been on subsequent ones, held in the Quirinal Palace. This noble building, known equally by the name of Monte Cavallo, consists of a large quadrangle, round which run the papal apartments. From this stretches out an immense wing, divided in its two upper floors into a great number of small but complete suites of apartments, occupied permanently or occasionally by persons attached to the court.

During conclave these are allotted, literally so, to the cardinals, each of whom lives apart, with his attendants. His food is brought daily from his own house, and is overhauled, and delivered to him in the shape of "broken victuals," by the watchful guardians of the turns and lattices, through which alone anything, even conversation, can penetrate into the seclusion of that sacred retreat. For a few hours, the first evening, the doors are left open, and the nobility, the diplomatic body, and in fact all presentable persons may roam from cell to cell, paying a brief compliment to its occupant, perhaps speaking the same good wishes to fifty, which they know can only be accomplished in one. After that all is closed; a wicket is left accessible for any cardinal to enter who is not yet arrived; but every aperture is jealously guarded by faithful janitors, judges, and prelates of various tribunals, who relieve one another. Every letter even is opened and read, that no communications may be held with the outer world. The very street on which the wing of the conclave looks is barricaded and guarded by a picket at each end; and as, fortunately, opposite there are no private residences, and all the buildings have access from the back, no inconvenience is thereby created.

While conclave lasts, the administrative power rests in the hands of the cardinal-chamberlain, who strikes his own coins during its continuance; and he is assisted by three cardinals, called the "heads of orders," because they represent the three

orders in the Sacred College of bishops, priests, and deacons. The ambassadors of the great powers receive fresh credentials to the conclave, and proceed in state to present them to this delegation at the grille. An address, carefully prepared, is delivered by the envoy, and receives a well-pondered reply from the presiding cardinal.

In the meantime, within, and unseen from without, fervet opus. That human feelings, and even human passions, may find their way into the most guarded sanctuaries, we all know too well. But the history of conclaves is far from justifying the estimate made of them by many prejudiced writers. There will indeed be, at all times, diversities of opinion on matters of ecclesiastical and civil polity. As to both, this is sufficiently obvious. For in the former there will be some who conscientiously desire things to be ruled with a strong hand and corrected by severe measures, while others will be in favor of a more gentle pressure and a gradual reform. Some will be inclined to yield more to the demands of the temporal power, and so prevent violent collisions; others will think it safer to resist every smaller encroachment that may lead to greater usurpations. It may even happen that a politico-ecclesiastical cause of division exists.

And it must, indeed, be further observed that the election is of a prince as well as of a pontiff, and that serious diversities of opinion may be held relative to the civil policy most conducive to the welfare of subjects and even to the peace of the world.

Thus, upon the three great divisions of papal rule, the purely ecclesiastical, the purely civil, and the mixed, there may be held, by men of most upright sentiments and desires, opinions widely different; and when a choice has to be made of one who has to work out his own principles, it is most

natural that each elector will desire them to be in harmony with his own. But it is equally in conformity with ordinary social laws that, in spite of personal peculiarities of ideas, men should combine in the unity of certain general principles, and that some individuals, more energetic or more ardent than others, should become the representatives and leaders of all consentient with them, and so come to be reputed heads of parties, or even their creators.

Such divisions in opinion will be more deeply marked and more inevitably adopted after violent agitations and great changes, such as had distinguished the pontificate of Pius. The Church and the State had almost had to be reorganized, after such devastation as had completely swept away the ancient landmarks. New kingdoms had arisen which literally effaced the outlines of old ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and even what before had been a Catholic State had come under Protestant dominion. Conventual life and property had been annihilated in most of Europe; canon law had been abolished; church endowments had been confiscated; civil codes had been introduced at variance with ecclesiastical jurisprudence; the authority of bishops had been deprived of all means of enforcing its decrees; in fine, a state of things had been produced totally different to what the Catholic world had ever before seen.

Many remembered well the epoch antecedent to these changes, and formed living links with what had been, and what was justly considered the healthy condition of the Church. They deplored the alteration; and they believed that too much had been conceded to the changeable spirit of the times. This would be enough to form a most serious and most deeply conscientious party, in the highest and best sense of the word. Others might just as conscientiously believe that prudence and charity had guided every portion of

the late policy, and wish it to be continued under the same guidance. Without exaggeration, we may allow such conflicts of principle to have swayed the minds of many who entered the conclave of 1823; while there were others who had espoused no decided views, but had simply at heart the greatest general good, and reserved their final judgment to the period when they must authoritatively pronounce it. From such a condition of things it may happen that a papal election will appear like a compromise. The extreme views on either side must be softened: the intermediate party will do this. Two thirds of the votes are required for a valid election. If this proportion could be commanded by one section, it would cease to be a party, and, therefore, where different opinions divide the body, a moderate view, more or less conciliatory, will prevail after a time; and the choice will probably fall on one who has lost the confidence of none, but who has not taken a prominent part in public affairs.

Twice a day the cardinals meet in the chapel belonging to the palace, included in the inclosure, and there, on tickets so arranged that the voter's name cannot be seen, write the name of him for whom they give their suffrage. These papers are examined in their presence, and if the number of votes given to any one do not constitute the majority, they are burned in such a manner that the smoke, issuing through a flue, is visible to the crowd usually assembled in the square outside. Some day, instead of this usual signal to disperse, the sound of pick and hammer is heard, and a small opening is seen in the wall which had temporarily blocked up the great window over the palace gateway. At last the masons of the conclave have opened a rude door, through which steps out on the balcony the first cardinal-deacon, and proclaims to the many, or to the few, who may happen to be waiting, that they again possess a sovereign and a pontiff.

On the occasion of which we treat, the announcement made on the 28th of September ran as follows:

"I give you tidings of great joy; we have, as pope, the most eminent and reverend Lord Annibale, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Della Genga, Priest of the title of Saint Mary's beyond the Tiber, who has assumed the name of Leo XII."

The cardinal thus raised to the pontifical throne was cardinal-vicar, yet so afflicted with sickness that he was known to few.

Annibale della Genga was the sixth of ten children of Count Hilary della Genga and Mary Louisa Periberti, and was born at the family seat August 22, 1760. He received his early education in a college at Osimo, from which he passed to the college of Piceno, in Rome. There, embracing the ecclesiastical state, he entered the Academia Ecclesiastica, and was ordained priest by Cardinal Gerdil, June 4, 1783.

Attracting the attention of Pius VI, on a visit paid to the house by that pope, he was taken into his household. In 1793, notwithstanding his youth and his strong remonstrances, he was made Archbishop of Tyre in partibus, and consecrated by Cardinal York at the cathedral of Frascati. He was then sent as nuncio to Lucerne, and in the following year succeeded the illustrious Pacca in the more important nunciature of Cologne. Benevolent towards all, and always worthy; serious without pride; an enlightened friend and protector of art; of perfect serenity; full of wit and repartee in society, yet never descending to unseasonable or unbecoming pleasantry; a severe observer of the duties inspired by his vocation and rank; retiring from every occasion of public distraction as soon as his dignity seemed compromised, but assiduous whenever his conduct could edify;

familiar with the learned and artists; a bishop in all the rigor of the term; a prudent and beloved statesman, condescending when conscience permitted it; rigorously adhering to right when the good of the Church and his sovereign required, he won the respect and esteem of all who had occasion to meet him.

In 1805 he became the subject of a grave contest between the Holy See and Napoleon. For the pope named him extraordinary envoy to the German Diet, and the emperor wished the Bishop of Orléans to be appointed. The first prevailed, and ordered the return of Monsignor della Genga to Germany. He resided at Munich, and was there universally esteemed. In 1808 he was in Paris, engaged in diplomatic affairs on behalf of his sovereign; and having witnessed, on returning to Rome, the treatment which he was receiving from his enemies, he retired to the abbey of Monticelli, which he held in commendam, and there devoted himself, as he thought for life, to the instruction of a choir of children and the cultivation of music.

He was drawn from his obscurity at the restoration, and deputed to present to Louis XVIII, at Paris, the pope's letter of congratulation. This circumstance led to differences between him and Cardinal Consalvi, nobly repaired on both sides when the one had mounted the throne. But Della Genga returned so broken in health that he thought only of returning to his abbey, soon to fill the long sepulchre which he had prepared for his interment.

Yet the Almighty sustained that frail form, and Della Genga was, in 1816, raised to the purple and made Bishop of Sinigaglia. In 1820 he was made vicar of Rome, and discharged the duties of his office with exemplary exactness, zeal, and prudence, till the day when he was raised to the throne.

The votes of the Sacred College were divided between Cardinals Severoli, Castiglioni, and della Genga. Austria, however, excluded the first, in order to secure the election of the second; but the Sacred College, to act without bias, chose Cardinal della Genga.

Alarmed at his elevation, he at first resisted and would not yield. "Why," he exclaimed, "would you make a skeleton a pope?" The newly elected pontiff generally takes the name of the pope from whom he received the cardinal's hat. Della Genga, from delicacy, took that of Leo XII. He said to Cardinal Castiglioni that it was a pity that they did not adopt the wishes of Pius VII, who called his friend Castiglioni Pius VIII; but that he himself, broken down by infirmities, had not long to live, and that the cardinal would certainly succeed under that title.

On the 5th of October the imposing ceremony of Leo's coronation took place. No other court could present so grand and so overpowering a spectacle. In the very center of the sublimest building on earth, there stood a circle of officers, nobles, princes, and ambassadors in their dazzling costumes; and within this circle were the highest dignitaries of religion on earth, bishops and patriarchs of the Western and of the Eastern Church, with the Sacred College in their embroidered robes, crowned by heads which an artist might have rejoiced to study, and which claimed reverence from every beholder. But rising on his throne, above them, was he whom they had raised there, in spite of tears and remonstrances. Surely, if a life of severe discipline, of constant suffering, and of long seclusion had not sufficed to extinguish ambition in his breast, his present position was calculated naturally to arouse it. If ever in his life there could be an instant of fierce temptation to self-applause, this might be considered the one.

And wherefore this pause in the triumphant procession towards the altar over the apostles' tomb, and to the throne beyond it? It is to check the rising of any such feeling, if it present itself, and to secure an antidote to any sweet draught which humanity may offer; that so the altar may be approached in humility, and the throne occupied in meekness. A clerk of the papal chapel holds up right before him a reed, surmounted by a handful of flax. This is lighted; it flashes up for a moment, dies out at once, and its thin ashes fall at the pontiff's feet, as the chaplain, in a bold, sonorous voice, chants aloud, "Pater Sancte, sic transit gloria mundi" —"Holy Father, thus passeth away the world's glory!" Three times is this impressive rite performed in that procession, as though to counteract the earthly influences of a triple crown.

The pope, pale and languid, seemed to bend his head, not in acquiescence merely, but as though in testimony to that solemn declaration, like one who could already give it the evidence of experience. His eye was soft and tender, moist indeed, and glowing with spiritual emotion. He looked upon that passing flash as on a symbol which he deeply felt, as on the history of a whole pontificate—of his own—not long to read. But the calm serenity with which he seemed to peruse it, the sincere acceptance of the lesson stamped upon his features, allowed no suspicion of an inward feeling that required the warning. It seemed in most perfect harmony with his inmost thoughts.

Years of suffering by enfeebling illness had robbed the pope, already in his sixty-fourth year, of many graces which adorned his earlier life. He appeared feeble and fatigued; his features, never strongly marked, wore upon them a sallow tinge, though the marks of age were not deeply en-

graven on them. His eye, however, and his voice compensated for all. There was a softness and yet a penetration in the first, which gained at sight affection and excited awe —which invited you to speak familiarly, yet checked any impulse to become unguarded. And his voice was courteously bland and winning; he spoke without excitement, gently, deliberately, and yet flowingly. One might hear him make severe remarks on what had been wrong, but never in an impetuous way, nor with an irritated tone.

There was a peculiar dignity and gracefulness, natural and simple, in his movements, especially in ecclesiastical functions. Being tall in person, the ample folds and even somewhat protracted length of the pontifical robes gave grandeur to his figure, though his head might have been considered small; he stood conspicuous among his attendants; and he moved with ease, and yet with stateliness, from place to place. And then his countenance glowed with a fervent look of deep devotion, as though his entire being were immersed in the solemn rite on which he was intent, and saw and heard and felt naught else.

There were two portions of the sacred function here described that displayed these two gifts, immeasurably, indeed, removed as they are from one another in quality, but most admirably harmonizing when combined. The first of these acts was the communion at that his first pontifical celebration, and the first at all witnessed by many. It is not easy to describe this touching and overawing ceremonial to one who has never witnessed it. The person who has once seen it with attention and intelligence needs no description. He can never forget it.

In Saint Peter's, as in all ancient churches, the high altar stands in the centre, so as to form the point from which nave,

aisle, and chancel radiate or branch. Moreover, the altar has its face to the chancel, and its back to the front door of the church. Consequently the choir is before the altar, though, according to modern arrangements, it would look behind it. The papal throne is erected opposite the altar, that is, it forms the farthest point in the sanctuary or choir. It is ample and lofty, ascended by several steps, on which are grouped or seated the pontiff's attendants. On either side, wide apart, at nearly the breadth of the nave, are benches, on which assist the orders of cardinals, bishops, and priests, on one side, and deacons on the other, with bishops and prelates behind them; and then, between them and the altar, two lines of the splendid noble guard, forming a hedge to multitudes, as varied in class and clan as were the visitors at Jerusalem at the first Christian Whitsuntide. Then, beyond, rises truly grand the altar, surmounted by its sumptuous canopy, which at any other time would lead the eye upwards to the interior of Saint Peter's peerless crown, the dome hanging as if from heaven over his tomb. But not now. At the moment to which we are alluding, it is the altar which rivets, which concentrates, all attention. On its highest step, turned towards the people, has just stood the pontiff, supported and surrounded by his ministers, whose widening ranks descended to the lowest step, forming a pyramid of rich and varied materials, but moving, living, and acting with unstudied ease. Now, in a moment, it is deserted. The high priest, with all his attendants, has retired to his throne; and the altar stands, in its noble simplicity, apparently abandoned by its dignified servants. And yet it is still the object of all reverence. There is something greater there than all that has just left it. Towards it all look; towards it all bend, or kneel, and worship. There stands upon it, alone, the consecrated elements, on the paten and

in the chalice. The sovereign pontiff himself is nothing in their presence: he is a man, dust and ashes, there in the presence of his Lord and Maker.

The cardinal-deacon advances to the front of the altar, takes thence the paten, elevates it, and then deposits it on a rich veil hung round the neck of the kneeling subdeacon, who bears it to the throne. Then he himself elevates, turning from side to side, the jewelled chalice; and, with it raised on high, descends the steps of the altar, and slowly and solemnly bears it along the space between altar and throne. A crash is heard of swords lowered to the ground, and their scabbards ringing on the marble pavement, as the guards fall on one knee, and the multitudes bow down in humble adoration of Him whom they believe to be passing by.

After this the new pontiff was borne to the loggia, or balcony, above the door of Saint Peter's, and the triple crown was placed upon his head by the cardinal-dean, the venerable Pacca. He then stood up to give his first solemn benediction to the multitudes assembled below. As he rose from his chair to his full height, raised his eyes, and extended his arms, then, joining his hands, stretched forth his right hand and blessed, nothing could exceed the beauty and nobleness of every motion and of every act. Earnest and from the heart, paternal and royal at once, seemed that action, which, indeed, was far more; for every Catholic there—and there were few else—received it as the first exercise, in his favor, of vicarial power from Him whose hands alone essentially contain "benediction and glory, honor and power."

The promises of the new reign were bright and spring-like. If the pope had not taken any part in public affairs, if his health had kept him even out of sight, during previous years, he now displayed an intelligence and an activity which bade fair to make his pontificate one of great celebrity. But

he had scarcely entered on its duties when all the ailments of his shattered constitution assailed him with increased fury, and threatened to cut short at once all his hopeful beginnings. Early in December he was so ill as to suspend audiences; before the end he was considered past recovery. In the course of January, 1824, he began to rally, against all hope.

All Rome attributed the unexpected recovery to the prayers of a saintly bishop, who was sent for, at the pope's request, from his distant see of Macerata. This was Monsignor Strambi, of the congregation of the Passion. He came immediately, saw the pope, assured him of his recovery, as he had offered up to Heaven his own valueless life in exchange for one so precious. It did indeed seem as if he had transfused his own vitality into the pope's languid frame. He himself died the next day, the 31st of December, and the pontiff rose like one from the grave.

As he recovered, his character and his policy gradually developed themselves. In the first a great simplicity, in the second an active spirit of reform, were manifested.

One of the vast enterprises undertaken in this reign was the rebuilding of the great Ostian basilica, consumed by fire in the last days of his predecessor. It was soon discovered that no single portion of the edifice was secure, and that not a fragment of wall could be allowed to stand. Many were for merely covering the centre altar and tomb with a moderately sized church, and leaving the ample nave to be a Palmyra in the wilderness. But the Holy Father took a more generous view. In spite of an exhausted treasury and of evil times, he resolved to begin the work of reconstruction on the original scale of the immense edifice which bore the name, in golden mosaic, of his holy patron, Saint Leo the Great. He appealed, indeed, to the charity of the faithful

throughout the world, and he was generously answered. But the sums thus collected scarcely sufficed for preliminary expenses. In the meantime the crowbar and the mine were dislodging huge masses from Alpine quarries, the blocks of granite which had to form the monolith shafts of the giant columns for the nave and aisles—in all, four rows, besides the two, still more colossal, which the Emperor of Austria gave to support the triumphal arch leading to the sanctuary. Each, when shaped on the mountain-side, had to be carried down to the sea, embarked in a vessel of special construction, brought round Sicily into the Tiber, and landed in front of the church.

Another great and useful work, not fully completed till the reign of his second successor, was the repression of the ravages committed by the Anio at Tivoli. One of those traitorous outbreaks of this classical stream occurred in November, 1826. It was more than usually destructive; and the ravages committed and the damage inflicted on the neighboring inhabitants were beyond the reach of local resources. The pope gave immediate orders for effectual repairs on such a scale as would give security against future repetition of the calamity. A great deal was done; and, in October of the following year, he went, according to his practice, without giving notice, to inspect the progress of his works. It may well be imagined what delight this unexpected visit caused to the inhabitants of that poor, though industrious and beautiful, city. They crowded around him and accompanied him to the cathedral, where, after the usual function of benediction, he received in the sacristy the clergy and people of the place.

Later it was found necessary to take a bolder and more effectual measure, that of cutting a double and lofty tunnel through the hard travertine rock, and diverting the main

stream before it reaches the town. These cunicoli, as they are called, form one of the grandest works of Gregory XVI's pontificate. They are worthy of imperial Rome, bold, lofty, airy, and perfectly finished. Instead of having diminished the natural beauty of Tivoli, they have enriched it with an additional waterfall of great elevation, which pours its stream in one sheet into the valley beyond.

The policy of the pope manifested an active spirit of reform. This pervaded every part of his public government, from general administration to minute details. He placed the finances of the State under rigid administration, and brought them into such a condition that he was able early to diminish taxation to no inconsiderable degree. Immediately after his coronation he abolished several imposts; in March, 1824, and January, 1825, still further reductions were made in taxes which pressed unequally on particular classes. Some of these abolitions, it may be remarked, affected considerably the private revenues of the pontiff. What rendered the reductions more striking was that they were made in the face of considerable expenses immediately expected on occasion of the jubilee. But so far from these having disturbed the equilibrium of the financial system, the pope found himself able, at its close, that is, on January 1, 1826, to reduce the property tax twenty-five per cent throughout his dominions. As it was the heaviest and principal of all the taxes affecting land and whatever exists upon it, this measure was the removal of a universal burden, and a relief to every species of industry and of capital.

It was generally understood that the pope had another most highly beneficial measure in contemplation, and that, by the rigid economy of which his treasurer Cristaldi was the soul, he had nearly put by the whole sum requisite for its completion. This was the repurchase of the immense landed

property in the Papal States settled, with equity of redemption, by the Congress of Vienna, upon the family of Beauharnais. All the land which had belonged to religious corporations, including many large and noble monastic edifices, in several fertile provinces of the north, had been given as a dotation to Prince Eugene, with remainder to his family. The inconveniences and evils resulting from this most arbitrary arrangement were numerous and manifest. Not only was a gigantic system of absenteeism established perpetually in the heart of the country, and a very large income carried abroad, which otherwise would have been laid out on the spot, but an undue influence was thereby created over a very susceptible population, through the widely scattered patronage held by the administrators of the property. In every greater town some spacious building contained the offices of the appannaggio, as it was called, with a staff of collectors, clerks, overseers, land-surveyors, and higher officers; and in almost every village was a branch of this little empire, for managing the farms, and even smaller holdings, of former communities. Many of the employed were, moreover, foreigners, whose religion was in declared antipathy to that of the natives, and whose morals neither edified nor improved the population.

To get rid of such an unnatural and anomalous state of things could not but be desirable for all parties. To the papal government and to the inhabitants of those provinces it was a constant eyesore, or rather a thorn in the side. An immense bulk of property, unalienable except in mass, mixed up with the possessions of natives, checked the free course of speculation in land by exchange or purchase, and kept up the competition of overwhelming resources, though far from well applied, in cultivation and management. To the holder of the property its tenure must have been very unsatisfac-

tory. Situated so far from his residence and his other estates, it had to be managed by a cumbrous and complicated administration, scattered over a broad territory; which, no doubt, swallowed up a considerable share of profits.

It was, therefore, one object of Leo's financial economy to redeem this valuable portion of his dominions from the hand of the stranger. Had his reign been prolonged a few years, he would probably have succeeded; but his successor occupied the throne for a period too brief to accomplish much; and the revolution which broke out at the very moment of Gregory's accession soon absorbed the contents of the treasury, and threw into confusion the finance of the country for many years.

Still, at a later period (1845), Gregory was able to accomplish this work. Under the papal sanction, a company was formed at Rome, in which the highest nobility took shares and direction, to repurchase the entire appanage. Sufficient means were soon raised; the predetermined sum was paid; the country was cleared of the stranger power; and the property was easily sold to neighboring or other proprietors on equitable conditions. Gradual liquidation for the land and the stock on it was permitted, and thus many families greatly increased their former possessions.

Besides improving so materially the financial state of his dominions, the pope turned his attention to many other points of government. Soon after his accession he published a new code, or digest of law. This was effected by the motu proprio of October 5, 1824, the first anniversary of his coronation. It is entitled Reformatio Tribunalium, and begins by mentioning that Pius VII had appointed a commission, composed of able advocates, to reform the mode of procedure in 1816; and that, on his own accession, he had ordered a thorough revision to be made of their labors. After great

pains taken to correct and perfect it, it had been submitted to a congregation of cardinals, and approved by them. But the pope adds that he had been particularly anxious for the reduction of legal fees and expenses, and that he was ready to make any sacrifice of the public revenues necessary to secure "cheap justice" to his subjects.

Education, in its highest branches, was another object of his solicitude. The Papal States contained several universities, besides other places of education which partook of the nature and possessed the privileges of such institutions. By the bull Quod Divina Sapientia, published August 28, 1824, Leo reorganized the entire university system. The universities of Rome and Bologna composed the first class. Ferrara, Perugia, Camerino, Macerata, and Fermo had universities of an inferior grade. Those of the first class had each thirty-eight, those of the second seventeen chairs.

To take the University of Rome as the example of the first class: it was composed of theological, medical, legal, and philosophical faculties, or colleges, as they are called in Italy, to which was added another with the title of the philological; and these were completely reconstructed. The philosophical college comprehended not only every branch of mathematics, but chemistry and engineering. A youth could offer himself for examination and receive degrees in this faculty. And so in the philological department, degrees could be taken in all the languages of which chairs exist there, that is, in Greek, Hebrew, Syro-Chaldaic, and Arabic. The members of the faculties were not merely professors of the university, but men eminent in the pursuits which they represented, in other institutions of the city, or even in private life.

A special congregation was created for the supervision of studies throughout the Papal States, under the title of "The Congregation of Studies," to which belonged the duty of

approving, correcting, or rejecting changes suggested by the different faculties; of filling up vacancies in chairs; and watching over the discipline, morals, and principles of all the universities and other schools.

It is certain that a new impulse was given to study by this vigorous organization. Scholars from every part of Italy and from other countries, not content with obtaining the annual prizes, studied for the attainment of degrees.

But a more important improvement was made by this constitution. With the exception of a few theological professorships, possessed, from a long period, by religious orders, all the chairs were thrown open to public competition. On a vacancy by death or superannuation, notice was to be given, and a day appointed for examination in writing of such competitors as had sent in satisfactory testimonials of character. The only ground of exception and preference was the having published such a work on the matter of the class as might well stand in the place of a mere examination-paper, and as was allowed to prove the author's competency for the professorship to which he aspired. And, in addition to this, the pope made the emoluments of the chairs better objects of ambition by considerably increasing them. Indeed, he was most generous in providing means for the higher education of his subjects, lay and clerical. While he restored to the Society of Jesus the schools of the great Roman College, which had been carried on by the secular clergy since the time of Clement XIV, he founded and endowed classes under the superintendence of the latter at the old German College, where education begins almost with its very rudiments, and reaches the highest point of ecclesiastical erudition.

It will not be uninteresting to add that Leo XII ordered the works of Galileo, and others of a similar character, to be

removed from the Index, in the edition published during his pontificate.

Speaking of church matters, it would be unjust to the memory of this pope not to mention other improvements which were the fruits of his reforming spirit. He made a new readjustment of the parishes of Rome. There, as elsewhere, great inequalities existed in the labor and in the remuneration of parish priests. The richer quarters of the city, of course, were comparatively more lucrative than where all was misery; and yet the calls of charity were most urgent in the last. Leo made a new division of parishes; of seventy-one existing parish churches he suppressed thirty-seven, some very small or too near one another, and retained thirty-four. To these he added nine, making the total number forty-three. He, moreover, equalized their revenues; so that wherever the income of the parish priest did not reach a definite sum considered necessary for a decent maintenance, this was made up from other sources guaranteed by the government. Every one must approve of this just reform. But it is only fair to add that nothing approaching to riches was thus provided. Ecclesiastical wealth is unknown in Rome, and the maintenance secured to a rector of a Roman parish would be treated, says Cardinal Wiseman, as a sorry provision for a London curate.

Another ecclesiastical change introduced by Leo XII affected religious corporations. Besides the greater houses of different orders, there were several small communities of branches from them which seemed dying out, and in which it was difficult to maintain full monastic observance. These he took measures gradually to suppress, by allowing the actual members to incorporate themselves with similar or cognate establishments, or, by receiving no more novices, gradually to be dissolved. Such a measure had, of course,

its disapprovers; but certainly it was undertaken in a sincere spirit of enforcing, to the utmost, religious observance.

It may interest many readers but little to learn the full extent which the reforming spirit of this pontiff contemplated. Yet even those who affect indifference to whatever concerns Rome and its sovereign bishops will not refuse evidence which proves in one of them the sincere and efficacious desire to amend abuses, even in matters apparently trifling.

Some of these reforms, certainly, were not inspired by any desire of popularity. They were decidedly unpopular, both with strangers and with natives.

For instance, he suppressed forever one of the most singular and beautiful scenes connected with the functions of Holy Week. On the evenings of Thursday and Friday the Church of Saint Peter used to be lighted up by one marvelous cross of light suspended from the dome. This artificial meteor flung a radiance on the altar, where all other lights were extinguished, and even round the tomb of the apostles, where, on one evening, certain rites are performed; it illuminated brightly the balcony under the cupola, from which venerable relics are exhibited; and it sent a flood of light along every open space, tipping every salient point and coign with radiance, and leaving sharp-cut shadows beyond. It was such an effect of chiaroscuro—the most brilliant chiaro and the densest oscuro—as every artist loved to contemplate. But it was over-beautiful: it attracted multitudes who went only to see its grand effects. While pilgrims from the south were on their knees crowded into the centre of the church, travellers from the north were promenading in the wondrous light, studying its unrivalled effects, peeping into the darksome nooks, then plunging into them, to emerge again into a sunshine that had no transition of dawn. And, doing all this, they talked and laughed and formed chatting groups,

then broke into lounging, sauntering parties, that treated lightly of all intended to be most solemn. It made one sad and irritable to witness such conduct, nay, ashamed of one's home manners, on seeing well-dressed people unable to defer to the sacred feelings of others, bringing what used to be the behavior in old "Paule's" into great Saint Peter's.

Unhappily for generations to come, it was considered impossible to check this disorder, except by removing its cause. The illuminated cross, which was made of highly burnished copper plates studded with lamps, disappeared at the beginning of Leo's reign, by his orders; and, except when once renewed as a profane spectacle by the republican leaders, it has been allowed to lie at rest in the lumber-rooms of the Vatican.

In the two papal chapels, raised seats had been long introduced, for the special accommodation of foreign ladies, who could thence follow the ceremonies performed at the altar. The privilege thus granted had been shamefully abused. Not only levity and disrespectful behavior, not only giggling and loud talking, but eating and drinking, had been indulged in within the holy place. Remonstrance had been vain, and so had other precautions of tickets and surveillance. One fine day, the ladies, on arriving, found the raised platform no more; the seats were low on the ground, sufficient for those who came to pray and join in the services, quite useless for those who came only to stare in wilful ignorance, or scoff in perverse malice.

This respect for God's house the pope extended to all other churches. In each he had a Swiss placed, to keep it in order, prevent artistic or curious perambulations at improper times, and assist in repressing any unbecoming conduct. Modesty of dress was also inculcated and enforced in church.

Certain actions of the pope will show how this sternness, in remedying or preventing the vices of the poor, was accompanied by kindness and charity. Soon after his accession, he had one evening finished his audiences, when he asked one of his domestic prelates, who lived out of the palace, and was later a cardinal, if his carriage was below. On his replying in the affirmative, the pope said he would go out in it; put a cloak about him, and descended by a private staircase, and, accompanied by his noble attendant, drove to the school of the deaf and dumb, where an examination was being held. Such an event had never been before known; and we may imagine the delight and gratitude of pupils and teachers at this most unexpected surprise. He attended to the examinations, and then, with his own hands, distributed the prizes which he had brought with him.

This first instance was often repeated; but it was carried further, even to the lowest depths of misery. He visited the prisons, not only to overlook great improvements which he introduced into them, but to converse with their unfortunate inmates and relieve their sufferings. In this manner he suddenly appeared at the debtors' prison in the capital, inquired personally into cases of hardship, and discharged several prisoners, whose debts he took upon himself. The hospitals also were unexpectedly visited, and their inmates consoled by the benign presence and soothing words of their holy pontiff.

Anxious, however, to provide for the just and efficient administration of charitable funds, many of which were misspent on worthless objects or wasted in the driblets of separate distributions, he appointed a commission of high ecclesiastics and irreproachable laymen to consolidate all the alms-funds of Rome and see to their equitable distribution. This noble institution, known as the "Congregazione dei

Sussidi," was organized by a decree dated February 17, 1826. It is followed by a beautiful instruction to parochial committees acting under this board, headed by a gentleman and a "lady of charity" from among the parishioners. Nothing can be more sensible or more full of tender charity to the poor than this truly episcopal and paternal address.

There was a community of Franciscan nuns, exceedingly edifying by their strict observance, miserably lodged in a steep, narrow street behind the Quirinal, unable to keep inclosure from having no external church. The clergy of the English and Scotch colleges often ministered to their spiritual wants. One day, in the very heat of a summer afternoon, when every one, nuns included, was taking the short repose of the time of day, the rough pavement of the lane quaked and rattled under the unusual dash and crash of horses and carriages. An impatient ring of the bell informed the community, who could not see into the street, that all this hubbub was on their account. "What is the matter? Who wants anything at this hour?" the aroused portress asked. "The Holy Father is come to see you," was the answer. No doubt the pope quietly enjoyed the fright and joy, all in one, the amazement and confusion of the poor sisters, at this most unexpected proof of paternal care. He examined the house himself, and saw its inadequacy; and, after familiarly and kindly conversing with them, departed, leaving them full of consolation.

There was an excellent and ample convent, then unoccupied, near the beautiful fountain familiar to travellers by the name of the Tortoises. It had every requisite for an inclosed community, and was attached to an elegant church dedicated to Saint Ambrose, and supposed to occupy the site of his abode. This Leo had put into thorough repair and order; and when all was prepared, and the day was fixed for taking

possession, the good nuns were waited upon by a number of ladies of the Roman nobility, always ready for such good actions, and taken in their carriages to the Vatican, where a sumptuous collation, as it appeared to them, was laid out for them, and they received the pope's benediction, and enjoyed his amiable conversation for a considerable time. They were then driven to their new home, whither their furniture had been removed. It was amusing to hear the nuns describe that day: their bewilderment in going through the streets after years of seclusion; their bedazzlement and awe in the Vatican, and its church, which they visited; their delight at finding themselves in so spacious and convenient a house; their great relief, after a harassing and toilsome day, when their visitors had all left, and they closed their doors forever to the outer world; then, lastly, their dismay at finding themselves without a morsel of food, sick and faint as they were, and unable, as they had been, through their confusion and reverence, to partake of the papal refreshments. This alone had been overlooked; and only one nun, who surely deserved to take her place among the five wise virgins of the parable, had brought a small basket of homely provisions, which, however, she willingly shared with her famishing companions.

In this way did Pope Leo love to do good. He liked to take people by surprise, and see for himself; sometimes, it used to be said, with a very different result from that in the instance quoted.

Having mentioned his attention to the progress of art, as in harmony with the conduct of all his great predecessors, it may not be amiss to specify one or two instances. The Vatican Library is indebted to him for very valuable additions. The principal one, perhaps, is the Cicognara collection of works relative to art. The nobleman whose property

it was is well known for a magnificent history of sculpture—a work which unites his name with those of Winckelmann and Agincourt. For the compilation of this book he had naturally collected most valuable and expensive works on every department of art. At his death this collection was for sale. It was purchased by the pope and given to the Vatican Library. Besides this, he added many thousands of volumes to its rich stores, so that new rooms had to be incorporated in its immense range. The classical department was particularly increased.

It was during this pontificate, also, that the germ of the splendid Etruscan museum was formed; for the excavations and study of the cities of tombs which still remain on the borders of Tuscany, belonging to the old Etruscan towns, were peculiarly carried on under this pope.

He showed himself, indeed, quite as great a patron of art as any of his predecessors; but he was most anxious that morality should not be compromised by it. A group of statues in the new gallery erected by his predecessors disappeared after his first visit, as did gradually other pieces of ancient sculpture offensive to Christian modesty.

Among his works must not be forgotten one which is commemorated on one of his annual medals, the beautiful baptistery which he added to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, adorned with the richest marbles and constructed with exquisite taste.

It is well known that ladies are not admitted into the portion of the palace occupied by the pope. He leaves his apartment for the museum or library when he receives them. During hours of general audience the anterooms present an appearance of considerable state. Each of them has its body of guards, more for becoming appearance than for any effectual services; and chamberlains, clerical and lay, are in

attendance in the inner chambers, as other classes of officers are in the outer. But soon after twelve all this formal court disappears; silence and solitude reign through the papal apartments. Below, indeed, there is a guard of Swiss, which might allow any one to pass; but at the foot of the staircase of the palace is a sentinel, and in the great royal hall is a small guard in attendance. This would be difficult to pass; for the next room is at once the first of the pontifical apartments, occupied by a few servants, who, in the warm hours of day, might easily be dozing.

Be all this as it may, certain it is that one afternoon it was announced to the pope that a lady had made her way past the guard, and, before she was discovered, had penetrated far into the penetralia of the palace. She had been of course stopped in her progress, or she might have found herself suddenly in the presence-chamber, or rather in the study usually occupied by the pontiff at that hour. What was to be done with her? was asked in dismay. Such an act of presumption had never before been known; there was a mystery about her getting in; and this was all the more difficult of solution because the intruder could not speak Italian, and it could only be ascertained that she desired to see the pope. Let it be remembered that secret societies were then becoming alarmingly rife, and that domestic assassination of persons in high places had been attempted, occasionally with success. The pope apprehended no such danger, and desired the adventurous lady to be admitted at once. He gave her a long audience, treating her with his usual kindness. She was an American woman, who had been seized with a strong charitable desire to convert the pope from what she considered his errors, and had thus boldly and successfully attempted to obtain a conference with him. That she did not change the

pope is certain; but that her opinion of him was changed there can be no doubt. For she must have been charmed with the gentleness and sweetness, as well as nobleness and dignity, of his mien and speech. "It was from Cardinal Pacca," says Cardinal Wiseman, "at the Villa Clementina, that we heard this anecdote; and he mentioned that the pope asked her if she had not believed him to have a cloven (or ox's) foot; but she, halting between her courtesy and her truthfulness, hesitated to answer, especially as she had given furtive glances towards the hem of the papal cassock. On which the pope good-naturedly convinced her that he was clearly shod on human and Christian principles. The cardinal added that, in his travels, some Protestant in conversation with him did not deny his belief in that pious and orthodox tradition; upon which Pacca wittily observed: 'If you believe the pope to be graced with a goat's foot, you must naturally expect us cardinals to be garnished with a kid's. This, you see, is not my case.' "

The great event of the reign of Leo XII was undoubtedly the jubilee of 1825, the first held in the century, and against which many arguments were now adduced.

On Ascension day he issued the bull of preparation, clear, bold, and cheering, as a silver clarion's note. Seldom has a document proceeded even from the Holy See more noble and stately, more tender and paternal. Its language, pure, elegant, and finely rounded, flows with all the greatness of Roman eloquence; yet in tone, in illustration, and in pathos, it is thoroughly Christian and eminently ecclesiastical. It speaks as only a pope could speak, with a consciousness of power that cannot fail, and of authority that cannot stray. Its teaching is that of a master, its instruction that of a sage, its piety that of a saint. The pope first addresses every class

of men who recognize his spiritual sovereignty, entreating kings to put no hindrance in the way of faithful pilgrims, but to protect and favor them, and the people readily to accept his fatherly invitation, and hasten in crowds to the banquet of grace spread for them. When, after having warmly exhorted those who, in addition, recognize his temporal dominion, he turns to those who are not of his fold, those even who had persecuted and offended the Holy See, and in words of burning charity and affectionate forgiveness he invites them to approach him and accept him as their father too, his words bring back the noble gesture with which he threw open his arms when he gave his first public benediction, and seemed to make a way to his heart for all mankind, and then press them to it in a tender embrace.

From the moment this decisive document was issued, some preparations were begun, and others were more actively pursued.

The first class of these preliminaries were of a religious character. Missioni, or courses of stirring sermons, calling on sinners to turn from their evil courses, were preached, not merely in churches, but in public squares—for the churches did not suffice—in order to cleanse the city from sin, and make it a holy place for those who should come to seek edification there. In the immense and beautiful square known to every traveller as Piazza Navona, a concourse of fifteen thousand persons was said to be present when the pope, on the 15th of August, went to close these services by his benediction. It required stentorian lungs to address such a crowd and be audible; fortunately these were to be found, in contact with a heart full of goodness and piety, in the breast of the Canonico Muccioli. When this zealous man died, still young, a few years later, hundreds of youths belonging to the middle classes, dressed in decent mourning, followed in

ranks their friend to his sepulchre. The same tribute of popular affection was exhibited later still, in 1851, to the amiable and edifying Professor Graziosi.

But to return: the pope took many by surprise, when they saw him opposite, listening to the canon's closing sermon from the apartments of the Russian embassy in the Pamphili palace. Thence he descended, accompanied by his heterodox host and admirer, the Chevalier Italinski, to a throne erected for him in the open air.

In addition to this spiritual preparation, material improvements were not forgotten. A visitation of churches, oratories, and all religious institutions had been begun, in virtue of which all irregularities in their arrangements were corrected, dilapidations were repaired, ornaments restored, and old or decayed objects renewed. Considerable expense was thus incurred by some of the greater and older basilicas.

But more serious still were the preparations necessary to lodge and feed the crowds of pilgrims who were expected. To prevent any alarm on this head, on the part of foreign princes, the pope sent word to the embassies that he did not wish them to make any provision for their poor countrymen, as he took upon himself this duty of hospitality. He observed that he would rather pawn the church plate of Rome than be wanting in its discharge.

The Holy Father was the soul of all the work of the jubilee. To see him and carry back his blessing was of course one of the most highly coveted privileges of a pilgrimage to Rome. Hence he had repeatedly to show himself to the crowds and bless them. They were instructed to hold up whatever they wished to have blessed; and certainly scarcely ever did Rome present a more motley crowd, arrayed in every variety of costume, from the sober and almost clerical dress of German peasants, to the rainbow hues of the

Abruzzi or Campania. But the pope manifested his hearty sympathy in his jubilee by a more remarkable proof than these. He daily served in his own palace twelve pilgrims at table, and continued this practice throughout his reign.

It must not be thought that the celebration of the jubilee completely monopolized the attention of the pope. No year of his reign was more actively occupied than this, with important affairs, especially abroad. But one great and beneficial internal improvement may be traced to this "holy year." The pope was determined that the roads should be safe for his poor pilgrims, and took such active measures, in concert with neighboring States, that the system of brigandage was completely extinguished. The last act, however, of its destruction deserves recording. A good old priest, the Abbate Pellegrini, archpriest of Sezze, ventured alone to the mountains which formed the headquarters and stronghold of the banditti, unauthorized and uninvited. Without password besides the expression of his charity, without a pledge to give that his assurances would be confirmed, without any claim, from position, to the fulfilment of his promises, he walked boldly into the midst of the band, and preached to them repentance and change of life. They listened: perhaps they knew that active measures were being planned for their extermination; more probably the very simplicity and daring of the feeble, unarmed peacemaker touched their rude natures, and they wavered. But they were among the most dreaded of their race, nay, the most unpardonable, for some of them had been the assassins of the Terracina students. One of them was their chief, Gasbarone, who owned to the commission of many murders. What hope could they entertain of pardon? The old man took upon himself to give his priestly word that their lives would be spared; they believed

that word, and surrendered to him at discretion. The city of Sezze was astonished at beholding this herd of wolves led in by a lamb. All admired the heroic action, the self-devoting charity, of this worthy ecclesiastic, who sought no reward, and who might have received a bullet or a stab for his first welcome from those desperadoes, but had done in a few hours what troops and statesmen, in combined action, had not been able to effect in years.

There is an act of this papal reign which deserves record as characteristic of the pontiff himself, and as illustrating the practical working of the supremacy under complications otherwise insoluble. South America had thrown off the Spanish rule, and enjoyed an independence of some years' duration. On the 21st of May, 1827, the pope addressed the cardinals in consistory assembled on the ecclesiastical position of that continent. Spain had refused to recognize the independence of its many States, although it had ceased effectually even to disturb them. It claimed still all its old rights over them; and, among them, that of episcopal presentation. The exercise of such a power, if it existed, would have been contradictory to its object, and therefore self-defeating. Bishops are intended to feed a flock; and of what use would bishops have been, who would never have been allowed even to look upon their sees or be heard by their people? For it would have been quite unreasonable to expect that the free republics would acknowledge the jurisdiction of the country which declared itself at war with them.

On the other hand, there had been no formal ecclesiastical treaty or concordat between these commonwealths and the Holy See, by which previous claims had been abrogated, and new rights invested in their present rulers. It was just a case for the exercise of the highest prerogative, which both

parties acknowledged to be inherent in the supremacy, however galling its application might be to one of them. In the allocution alluded to, the pope announced that, not feeling justified in longer permitting those sees to remain vacant, and those immense populations wandering like sheep without a shepherd, he had provided them with worthy pastors, without the intervention of either side, but in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority. The court of Madrid was angry, and refused to admit the papal nuncio, Tiberi; and a little episode in the life of Pius IX arose from this passing coolness.

The pope went through his Christmas duties, and even officiated on the 2d of February, 1829, the feast of the Purification, when a Te Deum is sung in thanksgiving for escape from a dreadful earthquake in 1703. But between the two festivals he had given intimations of a consciousness of his approaching end. He took leave of Monsignor Testa, his secretary of Latin briefs to princes, at the last weekly audience he had, most affectionately, saying: "A few days more, and we shall not meet again." He gave up the ring usually worn by the pope to the custody of the maggiordomo, or high steward of the household, telling him, as he hesitated to receive it, that he was its proper guardian, and that it might easily be lost in the confusion of an event which was shortly to ensue. But the most striking proof of presentiment was the following. Monsignor Gasperini, his secretary of Latin letters, went to his usual audience one evening. After despatching his business, Leo said to him, in his ordinary calm and affable manner: "I have a favor to ask of you, which I shall much value."

"Your Holiness has only to command me," was the natural reply.

"It is this," the pope continued, placing before him a paper.

"I have drawn up my epitaph, and I should be obliged to you to correct it and put it into proper style."

"I would rather have received any commission but that," said the sorrowful secretary, who was deeply attached to his master. "Your Holiness, however, is, I trust, in no hurry?"

"Yes, my dear Gasperini, you must bring it with you next time."

At his next week's audience he laid the corrected inscription before Leo, who read it, approved highly of it, thanked him most cordially, folded and placed it under the lion-mounted slab, where it remained till sought and found, a few days later, after his death. He transacted his business with his usual serenity; and, in dismissing him, thanked his secretary with an earnestness that struck him as peculiar. They never saw one another again upon earth.

On the 6th of February, after having descended to the apartments of the secretary of state, Cardinal Bernetti, by a private staircase, and held a long conference with him, he returned to his own closet and resumed his work. He was there seized with his last illness; and it was generally believed that an operation unskilfully performed had aggravated instead of relieved its symptoms. He bore the torturing pain of his disease with perfect patience, asked for the last rites of the Church, and expired, in calm and freedom from suffering, on the 10th.

He was buried temporarily in the sarcophagus which had enshrined for a time the remains of his predecessors, and then in a vault constructed in front of Saint Leo the Great's altar; where, in the centre of the pavement corresponding by its lines with the small dome above, was inlaid in brass the following inscription, alluded to as composed by himself. No one can read it and fail to be touched by its elegant simplicity.

LEONI . MAGNO
PATRONO . CŒLESTI
ME . SVPPLEX . COMMENDANS
HIC . APVD . SACROS . EIVS . CINERES
LOCVM . SEPVLTVRÆ . ELEGI
LEO XII.
HVMILIS . CLIENS
HÆREDVM . TANTI . NOMINIS
MINIMVS

Among other acts of this reign must be noted his enlargement, in 1825, of the Jews' quarter at Rome.

The emancipation of the Catholics in the British dominions had engaged the attention of Pius VII, although the efforts of Cardinal Consalvi were viewed with suspicion.

A new impulse was given from Ireland, and Catholicism gained signal advantages by the triumph of O'Connell, unattended by any of the sacrifices which the great Consalvi had supposed inevitable.

Cardinal Wiseman thus describes the private life of this pope:

"Leo XII rose very early, perhaps at five, and spent the first part of the day as any other Catholic ecclesiastic does, in those religious duties which have to consecrate its actions —meditation, prayer, and the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, followed always, in the pope's diary, by assisting at a second Mass 'of thanksgiving' said by a chaplain. A cup of coffee, or a basin of broth, with no solid food, was all the sustenance which he took till his hour of dinner. He went through the morning work of audiences, from eight, at latest, till twelve; then retired for private occupation, rested, devoted an hour to prayer (as we learned from others), drove out, and resumed public business till ten, when he took his first and only meal. To say that it was frugal would be

little; nor could we wonder at the accredited report that he would not allow his personal expenses to exceed a dollar a day, when we heard from his own lips that the dry Newfoundland stock-fish, the baccala of Italy, was his very ordinary and favorite food.

"This abstemiousness enabled Leo to go through functions which no other pope in modern times has attempted, such as singing Mass at Santa Maria Maggiore on Christmas eve, which involved fasting from the previous midnight, at least three-and-twenty hours; then going to Saint Anastasia's Church, the 'station' for the Mass at dawn; after saying which, he sang the third Mass at Saint Peter's on the day itself."

The Holy See was vacant forty-nine days.

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